REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

Public reporting burden for this collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington, VA 22202-4302, and to the Office of Management and Budget, Paperwork Reduction Project (0704-0188), Washington, DC 20503.

1. AGENCY USE ONLY *(Leave blank)*	2. REPORT DATE	3. REPORT TYPE AND DATES COVERED
	9 Jan 97	

4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE
Language and Power: Africans, Europeans, and Language Policy In German Colonial Tanganyika

5. FUNDING NUMBERS

6. AUTHOR(S)
Michelle R. Moyd

7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)
University of Florida

8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER

96-106

9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)
DEPARTMENT OF THE AIR FORCE
AFIT/CI
2950 P STREET
WPAFB OH 45433-7765

10. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY REPORT NUMBER

11. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

12a. DISTRIBUTION AVAILABILITY STATEMENT
Unlimited

12b. DISTRIBUTION CODE

13. ABSTRACT *(Maximum 200 words)*

19970115 112

DTIC QUALITY INSPECTED 2

14. SUBJECT TERMS

15. NUMBER OF PAGES
127

16. PRICE CODE

17. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF REPORT	18. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE	19. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF ABSTRACT	20. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT

LANGUAGE AND POWER:
AFRICANS, EUROPEANS, AND LANGUAGE POLICY
IN GERMAN COLONIAL TANGANYIKA

By

MICHELLE R. MOYD

A THESIS PRESENTED TO THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA

1996

I would like to thank Terrance M. Weik for caring about me and my work. He has also challenged me to think about things in completely new ways--not just as a student, but as a person. I want to thank him for being such an important part of my life, and for letting me be a part of his.

Finally, I would like to express my thanks and devotion to my parents, Henry L. and Heather A. Moyd. They have always been there when I needed them most, providing me with unfailing encouragement. Even though we are far apart, I know that they are thinking of me and sending me positive energy every day. Without their sacrifices and love, I would be a different person. My achievements are theirs.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

CMS	Church Missionary Society
DOAG	Deutsch Ostafrika Gesellschaft
TANU	Tanganyika African National Union
UMCA	Universities' Mission to Central Africa

Abstract of Thesis Presented to the Graduate School
of the University of Florida in Partial Fulfillment of the
Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

LANGUAGE AND POWER:
AFRICANS, EUROPEANS, AND LANGUAGE POLICY
IN GERMAN COLONIAL TANGANYIKA

By

Michelle R. Moyd

December 1996

Chairman: Dr. R. Hunt Davis, Jr.
Major Department: History

This thesis examines the complexity of German colonial language policy in

Tanganyika from the imposition of German colonial rule in 1890 until the Maji Maji

Rebellion in 1905. German colonial language policy was fraught with internal

contradictions, which were reflective of the conflicting interests of the various groups

involved in colonialism in Tanganyika. These included European colonialists and

missionaries, German government officials in Germany, and of course, Tanganyikans.

By using discursive method in reading German colonial documents, other European

primary sources, secondary sources, and African narratives, I have reconstructed a history

of Kiswahili usage in Tanganyika both before and during colonialism. Particular

emphasis has been placed on understanding the diversity of African responses to the

language situation in Tanganyika, especially with regard to German language policy. My study also emphasizes the many different ways in which Kiswahili was used by Europeans and Africans alike. The thesis concludes by suggesting that Kiswahili was especially useful as the medium of the "organic intellectuals" of Tanganyika, who were the mediators between the colonial rulers and the African subjects. The major contribution of this thesis is that it explains German colonial language policy and its internal contradictions while also showing the agency of Africans within the colonial context.

INTRODUCTION

Purpose of the Study

This thesis examines the complexity of colonial policy and practice in Africa by focusing on German colonial language policy in German East Africa.[1] It also explores how the African peoples of the region fit into the history of language usage both before and during colonialism. The study begins in the early 1800s, covering the expansion of trading networks and the arrival of the Europeans. It concludes on the eve of World War I in 1914, which marked the beginning of the end of German colonialism. However, the focus of the study is on the years from 1900 to 1905. Not only were these transformative years in the history of German colonialism, but they also were the years immediately prior to the Maji Maji uprising, a critical event in Tanzanian history.

In constructing this history, I have employed discourse analysis to dissect both primary and secondary historical sources. In other words, in using primarily Eurocentric historical sources, I have sought to view them not just for their empirical value, but also for the insight they might provide into colonial thought.[2] This paper elucidates the

---

[1] I have used "German East Africa" and "Tanganyika" interchangeably throughout the thesis to refer to what is now mainland Tanzania.

[2] In using the notion of discourse as a historical method I have borrowed heavily from Johannes Fabian's work, *Language and Colonial Power*, which will be discussed shortly. A simpler way of explaining my method is to say that I have read "against the grain," using colonial documents to clarify not only colonial language policy, but also the place of Africans within the language landscape of German colonial Tanganyika.

contradictions within German colonial language policy. It also attempts to provide an African perspective on language practice in pre-colonial and colonial Tanganyika. This study will argue that a language policy fraught with contradictions emerged as a product of the conflicting interests of local colonialists and metropolitan government officials, as well as conflicts within the colony between missionaries and colonialists. Finally, it argues that racism was a key factor in language policy and practice.

The thesis also posits that Africans from all over Tanganyika and from all social backgrounds used Kiswahili in support of their diverse interests both before and during colonialism. Colonial (and missionary) constraints sometimes limited their access to language education, particularly for European languages. The collision of interests between Africans and Europeans, missionaries and colonialists, and African administrators and laborers yields a multi-dimensional picture of German colonial Tanganyika which defies any simple explanation. Discourse analysis allows us to represent this history in all of its complexity.

Historiographical and Theoretical Concerns

Most of the primary sources used in this thesis are government documents from the German colonial period, which are preserved at the Tanzania National Archives in Dar es Salaam and the University of Dar es Salaam East Africana Library. In conducting my research, I was struck by the preponderance of correspondence on the subject of German language instruction in mission and government schools in German East Africa. This correspondence included letters and reports sent between missionaries and district

officers; district officers and the Imperial Government office in Dar es Salaam; and the Imperial Government and the colonial office in Germany. In particular, my interest was sparked by discussion of a *Fond zur Verbreitung der Deutschen Sprache* (Fund for Promoting the German Language). The files were filled with correspondence between government agents regarding the awarding of these funds to schools which complied with efforts to teach German. The amount of energy devoted to this issue led me to believe that it must have been of some importance to the Germans.

Most secondary sources on German colonial language policy, however, mention this fund, and German language instruction, only in passing. Although the fund is mentioned in several sources, historians note only that it existed and that it was often used instead for the promotion of Kiswahili instruction. With the benefit of hindsight, historians have consistently argued that the teaching of German was an insignificant chapter in German colonial history, and that Kiswahili was always considered the language of administration and education for Africans.[3] But it seemed unreasonable that the Germans had generated so much correspondence over an issue which was unimportant to them. Thus I set out to explain this contradiction. Why was it that the Germans expended so much energy on the issue of German instruction when Kiswahili was undoubtedly the primary colonial language?

---

[3] See for example Anthony Smith, "The Missionary Contribution to Education (Tanganyika) to 1914," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 60, (March 1963), p. 99; Marcia Wright, "Local Roots of Policy in German East Africa," in *Journal of African History*, IX, 4 (1968), pp. 621-630; Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914* (Helsinki: Lit Verlag, 1994), p. 511.

Because I wanted to avoid writing a German colonial history, I also researched the place of Africans in the pre-colonial and colonial contexts and included them in my argument. I attempted to find a wide variety of examples of African responses in order to illustrate that Africans also had to wrestle with contradictory interests on the language issue. For this I used colonial documents and biographical works on Africans who were educated by, or who worked for, the Germans during this period. Juhani Koponen's critique of post-colonial historiography is applicable here. He writes, "Post-colonial historiography has traced the initiative of African rebels and African peasants under colonialism; also the work of the African chief, akida, clerk and askari belongs there."[4]

A work that has proven invaluable in providing a theoretical framework is Johannes Fabian's *Language and Colonial Power: the Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo 1880-1938.*[5] He employs the notion of discourse as a method in examining Belgian colonial documents to show that Europeans used Kiswahili as a means of controlling Africans and colonial territories. He writes:

> The assumption is that ideas and ideologies expressing as well as informing colonial praxis are formulated and perpetuated (and occasionally changed) in ways of talking and writing about the *oeuvre civilisatrice*. In interpreting this sort of talk as discourse one is less interested in the truth value of specific statements, in the question, for instance, whether a certain author really expressed his convictions, gave an accurate report of facts, and so on. Instead, one seeks to appreciate the documentary value of a 'style' by discerning key notions, rules of combining these and theoretical devices used to build arguments. In short, one concentrates on elements which determined the shape and content of colonial thought irrespective of individual intentions.[6]

---

[4] Ibid., p. 568.

[5] Johannes Fabian, *Language and Colonial Power: the Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo 1880-1938* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986).

[6] Ibid., p. 79. *Oeuvre civilisatrice* might be translated as "the work of civilizing," which is what Europeans in colonial Africa generally considered themselves to be involved in.

While it thus may be true that German instruction never amounted to much in
Tanganyika in comparison to Kiswahili instruction, the documents still have much to say
about the nature of colonial administration. Discursive analysis, moreover, has the
potential to penetrate beyond political history--to reach the real historical actors, whether
African or European, in their local contexts. In Fabian's estimation, we must always
"simultaneously [consider] local, creative response to communicative needs *and*
restrictive intervention from above motivated by a resolve to control communication
within and with the labor force." This idea, which is critical to my argument, provides
the link between the colonized African and the colonizing European, neither of whom
represented a monolithic group. Africans responded creatively to their various
circumstances through language usage. In turn, Germans controlled their efforts by
strongly encouraging the use of Kiswahili while limiting access to German. We would
not know this from a cursory study of the colonial documents, which suggests that
German instruction was vital to the future of the colony. Discourse analysis allows us to
see beyond the literal expressions of policy in the colonial system, and makes local
realities more visible.

Kiswahili was encouraged because the Germans desperately needed an
inexpensive labor force to administer the colony. Because the language was already
relatively widely used when the Germans took over the colony, they appropriated it as the
language of administration. However, it was never simply a matter of "appropriation."
As Koponen argues in his comprehensive and insightful study of Tanzania's
"development for exploitation" under German colonialism,

> [t]he Germans did not go to Tanzania with a clear idea of operating in the manner they ultimately did. They did not even agree among themselves on what was desirable; different colonial agents held widely varying opinions as to what the actual goal of their actions was. . . . Even more importantly, they always had to work with, or through, the indigenous inhabitants, who were organized in their own social systems and could affect the behaviour of the newcomers in dozens of . . . subtle ways. The outcome was an amalgamation and articulation of a wide variety of colonial intentions and local realities, which none of the parties involved ever intended or fully understood.[7]

Again, we see the importance of evaluating the historical record for its ambiguities and inconsistencies. They capture the complexity of the colonial landscape that might otherwise escape us if we concentrated strictly on "facts."

Koponen's remarks highlight an additional theoretical tool used in this thesis. He mentions that the Germans were forced to operate through Africans, and thus "were not as exclusively in command as they seemed or believed."[8] I have employed the Gramscian notion of the "organic intellectual," as interpreted by Steven Feierman in *Peasant Intellectuals*, to explain the role of educated, Kiswahili-speaking Africans in the colonial structure, as well as in some pre-colonial structures. The "organic intellectuals" are "the dominant group's 'deputies.'" They serve in the role of mediator between ruler and ruled, or between "civil society" and "the State," directing the discourse between the two, but also operating in their own interests.[9] The study employs this notion in response to John Iliffe's theory that the aftermath of the Maji Maji rebellion (1905-7) inaugurated an "age of improvement" led by "the improvers"--educated and Christianized Africans.[10]

---

[7] Koponen, *Development*, p. 37; 560-2.

[8] Ibid, p. 562.

[9] Antonio Gramsci, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks,* Quintin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, ed. and trans. (New York: International Publishers, 1971), p. 12.

[10] John Iliffe, *Tanganyika Under German Rule 1905-1912* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 166-200.

Iliffe's theory is inconsistent with the argument advanced in this paper--that Africans made conscious decisions to work, or not to work, as agents for the dominant group in both the pre-colonial and colonial periods. The aftermath of Maji Maji was no exception. The notion of "organic intellectuals" helps to explain the milieus in which Kiswahili was used, both in colonial times and beforehand. Throughout the 1800s, it was the medium of communication for the agents of the dominant groups in East Africa, whether those people were Arabs, Swahili, or European. Even though many more people spoke Kiswahili in 1905 than in 1800, the language was still serving in the same capacity, as were the agents. Maji Maji was not a watershed event in this respect.

Chapter Overview

This study is divided into four chapters. Chapter One presents a history of Kiswahili in Tanganyika before the "Scramble for Africa" in the mid-1880's. It explains that the two main engines driving the spread of Kiswahili were, first, the long-established trade networks between the coast and the hinterland, and second, the arrival of the first European missionaries and travelers in the 1860's. Although most historians would agree that these two major themes are central to a discussion of the spread of Kiswahili, I have included them to make a specific point. By the time of German colonialism, Kiswahili was already in place as a *lingua franca*, although it had not yet spread much beyond the trade routes and the missions. This chapter demonstrates that Kiswahili was used for specific objectives well prior to the imposition of colonial rule. It presents

broad historical themes to explain the spread of Kiswahili, and does not delve deeply into the particular experiences of Africans using the language before the 1880's.[11]

Chapter Two presents the main argument--that German colonial language policy was fraught with contradictions because of conflicting interests between different groups both within the colony and back in Germany. I argue that the notion of a "language hierarchy," which corresponded to a "race hierarchy," explains why few Africans learned German, despite the image depicted in the colonial records. This chapter also explains that the need for a cheap, "Black" African, Kiswahili-speaking labor force to replace the more expensive "whites" and "coloreds" was a driving factor in German policy. Chapter Two highlights the need to distinguish between language policy in theory versus language policy in practice. As a close study of the historical record reveals, they were not by any means the same.

Chapter Three presents another history of Kiswahili usage in Tanganyika, but from the perspective of those who used it most--the Africans of Tanganyika. This chapter explores African use of Kiswahili in trade, religion, diplomacy, enslavement, education, rebellion, and colonial administration. Where applicable, I have shown how Africans related to, or were affected by, colonial language policy. This chapter makes a contribution to the social history of Tanganyika by including "ordinary Africans"--ex-slaves, women, mission students. It also includes those who might be termed "organic intellectuals," such as traders, Muslim clerics, diplomats, colonial administrators, and teachers. Although it also includes discussion of "elites" (mainly chiefs), the focus is on

---

[11] This aspect is covered in Chapter Three. See below.

the particular experiences of "ordinary" African men, women, and children who used language in different ways to accomplish their various goals. The chapter ends by discussing the dual role of Kiswahili in the Maji Maji rebellion, and critiques Iliffe's notion of "improvement." In Chapter One I provide an overall history of Kiswahili before the Scramble using two broad historical themes. Chapter Three shows that the language was used in local and regional contexts for many different types of social, economic, and political discourse. In a sense, Chapter Three "particularizes, " and sometimes problematizes, the ideas presented in Chapter One.

Chapter Four is the conclusion. It revisits the question of the contradictions within German policy from the perspective of a German scholar writing in 1914. It then proposes that it is more practical to view the men whom Iliffe labeled "the improvers" as "organic intellectuals" instead. Finally, it argues for the value of applying a discursive approach to the study of German colonial language policy, and African reactions to policy, as represented in past historiography. This thesis posits that discourse analysis has the unique potential to accommodate the complexity of the colonial scene, and to allow for all the relevant voices to be heard and interpreted within their own contexts.
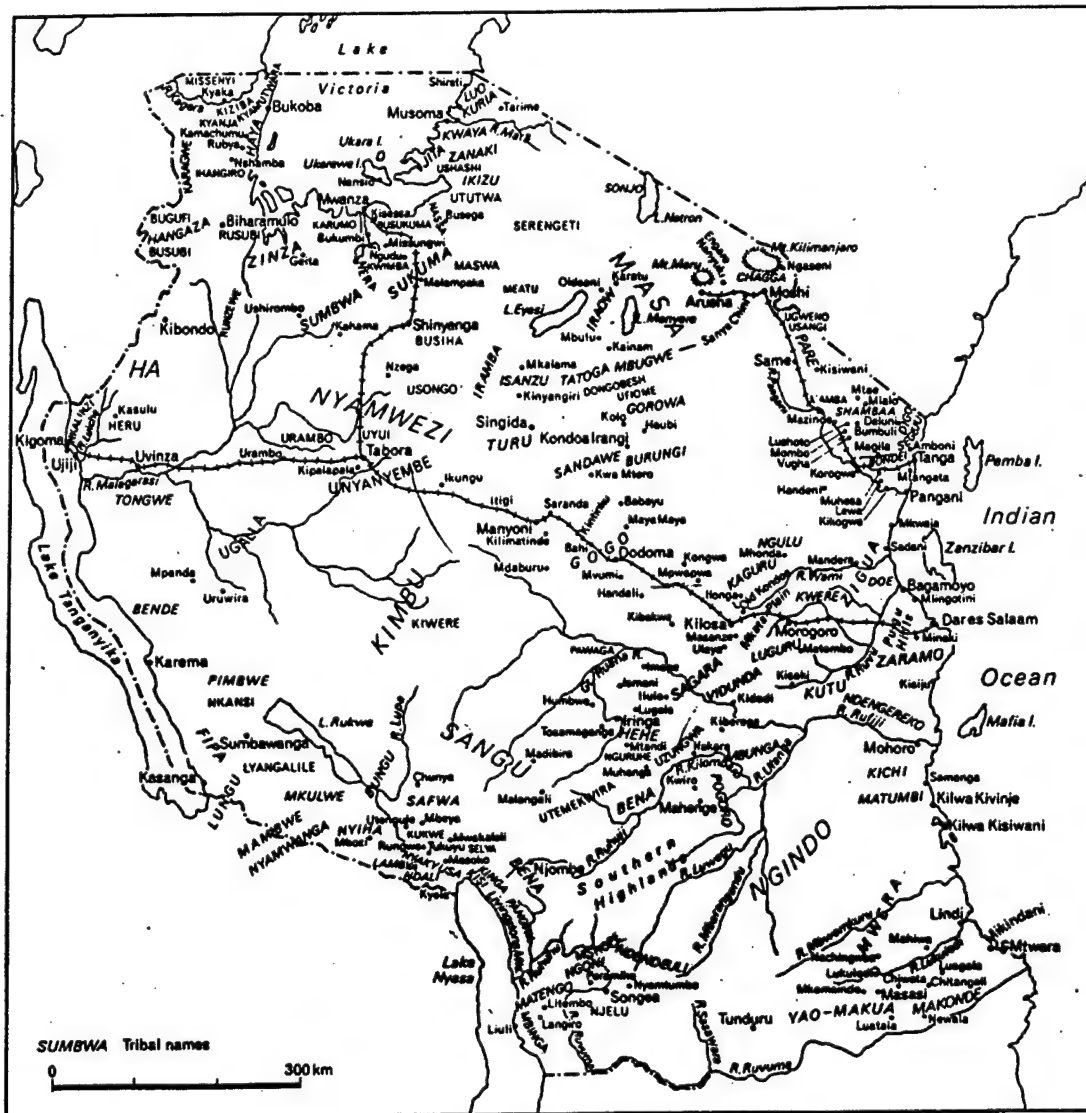
Figure 1 - Map of Tanganyika
Source: John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. xvi.

CHAPTER 1
A LANGUAGE OF TRADE AND EVANGELIZING: KISWAHILI IN TANGANYIKA BEFORE GERMAN COLONIALISM

This chapter presents a historical background, which is designed to show how the primary period addressed in this thesis (1900-1905) fits into the larger history of the use of Kiswahili in Tanganyika. It is useful here to delineate two important interwoven themes in this history. These merged and became the basis for German colonial language policy around the turn of the century. The first important theme is the history of East African trading networks, particularly during the nineteenth century. It was primarily through these networks that Kiswahili first reached the interior of Tanganyika during the early 1800s. Secondly, it is necessary to consider the arrival of the Europeans--primarily missionaries, but also explorers, military men, and traders--in different parts of Tanganyika beginning mainly in the 1860's. Missionaries were especially active in the teaching of various languages to Tanganyikans in their mission areas. Kiswahili was, of course, one of those languages, and the one with the most staying power. These Europeans' accounts are also valuable primary sources from which to gather information on language usage in the Tanganyikan interior. These two major themes--trade networks and missionaries--were connected, and they each eventually contributed to the selection of Kiswahili as the language of education and administration in the colonial period.

Kiswahili in the Development and Expansion of Trading Networks in Tanganyika

Kiswahili is a language with quite a long and sometimes contentious history.

Some scholars have placed the "beginning" of a distinct Swahili language as early as the

ninth century.[1] It is important at this point to make one note about terminology.

Although it is not within the scope of this paper to discuss the many factors involved in

the construction of Swahili identity, or the corresponding historiographical debates, it is

necessary to make a distinction between the Swahili "people" on the one hand and

people who speak Kiswahili on the other. Many scholars have devoted considerable

energy to the debate on what constitutes Swahili identity.[2] James de Vere Allen proposes

a "rule of thumb" definition for a Swahili which may be useful in clarifying this point:

> A Swahili is à person who has (made) his/her home in or around one of the
> traditional Swahili settlements of the East African coast or their modern counterparts in
> the interior; whose lifestyle conforms to that of his/her neighbours; and who has inherited
> or adopted the Swahili language as his/her preferred tongue.[3]

He also includes a definition for a "Swahilised" person, which is almost identical to the

one given above, but whose "lifestyle conforms to that of one of the groups inhabiting

traditional urban settlements on the East African coast or their modern counterparts in

---

[1] Thomas Nurse and Derek Spear, *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985), pp. 46, 50-1. Around this time, Kiswahili became distinct from proto-Sabaki, the sub-language group from which it developed. Swahili communities also became distinct from other Sabaki groups around this time by forming a maritime-based economy. Five Sabaki languages are spoken today. These are Elwana, Pokomo, Kiswahili, Mijikenda, and Comorian.

[2] For a small sampling of the discussion on Swahili identity, see the above-mentioned work by Nurse and Spear as well as Alamin M. Mazrui and Ibrahim Noor Sheriff, *The Swahili: Idiom and Identity of an African People* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1994); Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995); and James de Vere Allen, *Swahili Origins* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993).

[3] Allen, p. 15.

the interior." Allen goes on to explain that other key distinguishing factors in Swahili culture are its urbanism and the centrality of Islam. Clearly there is much room for interpretation and debate on this subject. For the purposes of this paper, Allen's working definition of a Swahili or Swahilised person will be accepted. Thus when the term "Swahili" is used, it refers to those people who mainly inhabited the Tanganyikan coast, spoke Kiswahili as their preferred language, were generally Muslims, and engaged in long-distance trading. A Swahili-speaker, on the other hand, is an inhabitant of Tanganyika who would not necessarily be defined as Swahili according to the above definition, but who acquired a command of Kiswahili for one of various purposes--trade, education, or administration.[4] Turning to one of the underlying questions of this thesis, we might ask how and why so many non-Swahili Africans of Tanganyika became speakers of Kiswahili in the late 1800s and early 1900s. What were the implications of this transformation for the colonial power structure?

To begin to answer these questions, it is first important to develop a sophisticated understanding of the history of trading networks of East Africa. According to Juhani Koponen, in his study of pre-colonial Tanganyika, long-distance trade routes between the interior and the coast existed before the nineteenth century, and were driven by Yao

---

[4] Allen's definition of a "Swahili" may be overly broad, but it is employed in this paper to refer to a cultural identity which many coastal peoples of Tanganyika claimed for themselves, and to which some non-coastal peoples aspired. The characteristics of this identity included adherence to Islam, the use of Kiswahili as the first language, involvement in long-distance trade, and residence in the coastal towns. Later, they became the primary agents of German colonialism. Throughout this paper I have used the terms "Swahili," "Arab," "coastal Muslims" nearly interchangeably. It is often unclear from the sources exactly what the identity of a particular actor is, because he or she may be described with any of these terms without any elaboration on the person's actual identity.

traders from the southeastern interior.[5] The Yao were later eclipsed by the Nyamwezi in

this capacity. Although this paper focuses on the late 1800s and early 1900s, it is

important to note that smaller regional trading systems were an integral part of

Tanganyika's history from as early as the ninth and tenth centuries, and that necessary

goods from the interior reached coastal settlements during these times.[6] Thus the initial

direct contacts between coastal traders and those of the western regions of Tanganyika,

which occurred around 1800, were founded on structures that were already in place, and

which were operated largely by African traders from the interior.[7] During the 1820's,

European and Zanzibari demand for ivory and slaves stimulated the further development

of long-distance caravan routes between the Mrima coast opposite the island of Zanzibar

and the interior of Tanganyika. Permanent Arab trading settlements in the interior were

established during this period as well, with the most famous being at Ujiji on Lake

Tanganyika. By 1860, a complex central trading system existed, which linked

Unyanyembe, a Nyamwezi town, with the coast and other parts of the interior.[8] Two

other main trading routes connected the coast with the Kilimanjaro region in the north

and the Lake Nyasa region in the south. The Nyamwezi, Yao and other interior African

groups who had been involved from the earliest times in this trading system were still

---

[5] Juhani Koponen, *People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania*, (Jyvaskyla: Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, 1988), p.70.

[6] Neville Chittick, "The Coast Before the Arrival of the Portuguese," in *Zamani: a Survey of East African History* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), pp. 108-9; Andrew Roberts, "The Nyamwezi," in *Tanzania Before 1900* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), pp. 122-3. Although goods reached the coast from the interior as early as this, it is likely that goods which came from a long distance were bartered from one group to another until they reached the coast. They were probably not brought by long distance caravans. See also Nurse and Spear, pp. 69-70.

[7] Roberts, p. 126.

[8] Ibid, p. 127.

heavily involved, although power and wealth increasingly became concentrated in the hands of relatively few Arab and Swahili traders, who had access to Indian financiers on the coast.[9] Historians emphasize the intricate interweaving of worldwide economic demands with existing interior trade networks, which ultimately resulted in the famous long-distance caravan system of Tanganyika. In other words, the course of trade in nineteenth century Tanzania was not determined solely by the interests of Omani Arabs or Swahili traders. It was inextricably linked with global trading interests.[10] Africans of the interior, such as the Nyamwezi, Yao, and Sukuma played a vital role in establishing and maintaining these networks throughout most of the nineteenth century.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to argue that coastal culture left no mark on Tanzania's interior, for it certainly did. As Ranger argues, "ideas, as well as trade goods, were passed in all directions along these routes."[11] For example, as Arabs and Swahilis established permanent trading outposts in western Tanzania, they brought with them Islam and Kiswahili. Although historian Norman Bennett argues that the relationships between Arabs and Africans of the interior were primarily ones of mutual material benefit, he also notes that the most important contribution of the Arab (and Swahili) traders to East Africa was "the spread of the Swahili language to the farthest corners of

---

[9] Philip Curtin, Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, and Jan Vansina, *African History* (New York: Longman, 1991), p. 400.

[10] Ibid., pp. 391-418. Ivory, slaves, and cloves were East Africa's three major exports during the 1800s. Ivory was brought from the interior and exported via Zanzibar to satisfy European and American demands. Slaves were brought from the interior and either sold to Europeans or Arabs, or put to work on the Zanzibar clove plantations, which were producing cloves to fill European demands.

[11] T. O. Ranger, "The Movement of Ideas, 1850-1939," in *A History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), pp. 166-7.

East Africa."[12] Given the considerable time that groups such as the Nyamwezi had been in contact with the coastal Swahili and Omani Arabs, it is probable that Swahili was used heavily as a *lingua franca* amongst traders of different groups. This point is confirmed by Feierman and Roberts, who both note that by the 1880's some people among the Shambaa and Nyamwezi could speak Kiswahili.[13] In Shambaai, however, Feierman notes that various groups spoke Kiswahili in the trading town of Mazinde, but that the *lingua franca* was Kizigua, another regional African language.[14] Thus although Kiswahili was perhaps the most widespread of African languages in the region, it was not the *only* language used to conduct trade.[15] In the 1880's Kiswahili was just one of several languages used by non-coastal Africans to converse amongst themselves. It was probably the dominant language used to conduct business with coastal Swahili and Arab traders, but it likely had limited utility elsewhere. Judging from the available literature, it was some time before a large number of non-coastal, non-trading Africans used the language routinely.

One further point merits attention. There is evidence that a certain degree of prestige began to be attached to elements of Swahili culture in parts of the interior during

---

[12] Norman Bennett, "The Arab Impact," in *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*, B. A. Ogot and J. A Kieran, eds. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), pp. 235-6. Bennett also notes that the Arabs were largely unsuccessful in converting Africans to Islam during this period.

[13] Steven Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974), p. 199; Roberts, p. 131. See also Wilfred Whiteley, *Swahili: The Rise of a National Language*, (London: Methuen & Co, Ltd, 1969), pp. 48-9 for his comments on the lack of direct evidence available on the use of Swahili in the caravans.

[14] Feierman, *Shambaa Kingdom*, p. 199.

[15] Swahili is a Bantu language, like many of the other languages of Tanzania. It may therefore have been relatively easy for Africans to learn Swahili in a setting like Mazinde, where many Bantu languages were spoken by traders.

the mid-1800s. This may have also contributed to the spread of Kiswahili. For example,

Yohanna B. Abdallah, a Yao historian (and Kiswahili-speaker) writing in 1919, discusses

how "the coast people" (Swahili) began coming into Yao-land. Previously, the Yao had

traveled to the coast to trade, but the Swahili had not come inland. He writes,

> . . . that was the time when the Yaos began to become civilized, to go ahead, in care
> of the person, in dress, and cleanliness; in knowledge and wisdom: and to consider that
> the Yaos were superior to all other races. We Yaos feel that we owe much to the Coast
> people, because it was they who opened our eyes and sharpened our wits.
> Alas, the old days which will never return.[16]

Another interesting example of the prestige attached to Swahili culture is given by Dr.

Karl Weule, a German ethnographer who traveled in Tanganyika in 1906. Describing his

cook, Weule writes, "He is a Bondei from the north of the colony, but of course calls

himself a Swahili; all the back-country Washenzi do, once they have come in contact

with the Coast civilization which is so dazzling in their eyes."[17] It could be argued that

because this episode occurred after the establishment of Kiswahili as the German

colonial language, it is not necessarily reflective of any special partiality to Swahili

culture on the part of inland Africans. Further evidence from the Shambaai region

neighboring Bondei, with which it shares a cultural history, however, suggests otherwise.

Semboja, the ruler of the western portion of Shambaai in the Usambara mountains,

surrounded himself and his community at Mazinde with the trappings of coastal culture.

These included coastal style rectangular houses, Swahili cuisine, "Arab" dress, the use of

---

[16] Yohanna B. Abdallah, *The Yaos* (Zomba, Nyasaland: Government Printing Office, 1919; repr., London: Frank Cass, 1973), p. 34.

[17] Karl Weule, *Native Life in East Africa* (New York: D. Appleton and Co, 1909; repr., Chicago: Afro-Am Press, 1969), p.167. *Washenzi* is the plural form of *mshenzi,* which means "a barbarian or pagan." It was a derogatory term used to describe "up-country" people. See Glassman, p. xvi.

Kiswahili, and at least minimal learning of Islamic tenets.[18] The Kaguru, who inhabited

an area about 160 miles inland and west of Dar es Salaam, were also influenced by

coastal culture, despite the fact that they were hostile to Islam.[19] This is not to argue that

Swahili culture was transplanted wholesale to other regions, but the evidence certainly

suggests that some importance was attached to it among Africans of parts of the interior.

It is quite possible that Kiswahili gained wider usage in conjunction with the attraction to

Swahili coastal culture and goods, which in turn was promoted by the spread of trading

networks during the nineteenth century.

The Coming of the Europeans--Missionaries, Traders, Explorers

The second major historical theme in the spread of Kiswahili is the penetration

of European missionaries, explorers, and traders into the interior of Tanganyika between

about the 1860's and the 1880's. These were the direct forerunners of formal

colonialism, and were often responsible for establishing a setting in which colonial

structures might later flourish. They were also responsible for the transmission of

information about the interior of Tanganyika back to Europe, thus further supporting

colonial endeavors.

The first Europeans to travel into the interior of Tanganyika were the CMS

missionaries Johann Krapf and Johann Rebmann. Traveling from the Rabai Mpya

mission just inland and north of Mombasa between 1847 and 1849, Krapf and Rebmann

---

[18] Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom*, pp. 197-200. See also Roberts, p. 130.

[19] T.O. Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism: a Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p.45.

"discovered" Kilimanjaro and the peoples living in its environs, the Chagga. Krapf also

ventured into the Usambara mountains in what is now the northeast corner of mainland

Tanzania. It was also during this period that Krapf embarked on the first intensive study

of Kiswahili (as well as some local languages), producing a translation of the New

Testament, a Kiswahili grammar, and a four thousand word Kiswahili--English

dictionary.[20] These works later became invaluable for explorers like Richard Burton and

John Hanning Speke, who reached Lake Tanganyika in 1857. In his classic account of

this journey, Burton identifies the Krapf grammar as one of the critical pieces of the

"mass of material which I am about to drag over the mountains."[21] Burton's account,

interspersed as it is with Kiswahili words for a wide variety of objects and quotes from

members of his caravan, also provides ample evidence that Kiswahili was the *lingua

franca* along the interior trade routes. Burton apparently could also speak some

Kiswahili, as suggested in a passage from another of his works, *Zanzibar: City, Island

and Coast*:

> My principle being never to travel where the language is unknown to me, I was careful to
> study it [Kiswahili] at once on arriving at Zanzibar; and though sometimes in the interior
> question and answer had to pass through three and even four media, immense advantage
> has derived from the modicum of direct intercourse.[22]

---

[20] Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa--a Church History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1986), pp. 26-28.

[21] Sir Richard F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa, Vol. 1* (London, 1860; repr., New York: Horizon Press, 1961), p. 155.

[22] Quoted in Whiteley, p.49.

The point here is that at least by the 1850's, Kiswahili was established as the regional *lingua franca,* and most Europeans who ventured into the interior over the next two decades found it to be a useful tool in achieving their goals.

Indeed, some Europeans began to recognize that a degree of power was attached to the mastery of Kiswahili, or that "[c]ommand of Swahili gave the European traveler a position at the apex . . .of a great classificatory variety of African languages."[23] Jerome Becker, a Belgian military officer assigned to the Military Institute of Geography in Brussels and sent to work in Tanganyika, recognized the potential value of Europeans learning Kiswahili not only for the sake of facilitating one's travels in the region, but also as a means to dispose of the need for potentially untrustworthy interpreters.[24] Becker later put his command of Kiswahili to good use in 1882 in heading off a potential conflict between Mirambo, the leader of the Wanyamwezi, and the Belgian post at Karema on Lake Tanganyika.[25] Men like Becker and Burton were practitioners of the same philosophy that the Germans would later employ during their colonial rule of Tanganyika: Kiswahili was a language which would facilitate the imposition of economic or political power, because it was largely in place as a *lingua franca* prior to the arrival of the Europeans.

---

[23] Johannes Fabian, *Language on the Road: Notes on Swahili in two Nineteenth Century Travelogues* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1984), p. 30.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Ibid., pp. 36-7; Norman R. Bennett, *Mirambo of Tanzania* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 136-7. Becker and the Belgian post were in a precarious position, as he was a close friend of Tippu Tip, the famous Arab leader and slave trader. The Belgians were allied with the Arabs. On the other hand, the Belgians also needed to be on good terms with the Wanyamwezi, who controlled the area between Tabora and Lake Tanganyika. Becker went to Mirambo to discuss his plans for attacking Karema, and in the ensuing discussion, which was carried out in Kiswahili, Mirambo agreed to protect Karema.

It is also interesting that Europeans used Kiswahili to communicate amongst themselves when they did not share a common European language, both before and during colonialism. For example, Lt. Edvard Gleerup, a Swedish officer, traveled through the Tabora region in 1886. He was invited to stay at a White Fathers mission station in the vicinity of Tabora. Recalling his stay there, he wrote,

> Our French conversation did not go well . . . and after I had maltreated the beautiful language of my hosts for about half an hour we began to speak Kiswahili, and strangely enough we whites understood each other perfectly well in the language of the black men.[26]

This episode foreshadows a dynamic of the German colonial period, in which European missionaries corresponded with the colonialists in either Kiswahili or German. It further demonstrates the broad utility of Kiswahili in the pre-colonial period. In a situation where Europeans of many different backgrounds were likely to encounter each other in a foreign environment, Kiswahili provided them a common language through which they could communicate to conduct business and personal affairs.

While the explorers and military men put Kiswahili to use in accomplishing their secular objectives, the missionaries used it for a different kind of work. Beginning in the 1850's, David Livingstone's anti-slavery rhetoric, missionary zeal, and commercial interests influenced the proliferation of various missionary societies throughout Tanganyika. As Roland Oliver describes, "Though still first and foremost a Christian

---

[26] Per Hassing and Norman R. Bennett, "A Journey Across Tanganyika in 1886," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Nos. 58 & 59, March and September 1962, pp. 138-9. The White Fathers were French missionaries. It is also interesting that during the colonial period some European missionaries used Kiswahili to communicate with the Imperial Government. This practice was frowned upon by German Governor von Götzen, who noted that "however suitable to the comprehension of the natives, [Kiswahili] is not always adapted to the clear statement of more weighty official matters amongst Europeans. . . ." See Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism,* p. 95; Tanzania National Archives, G36/14, XIV/B/1, 1900-1911, letter from Graf von Götzen to CMS Bishop Peel, 30 November 1901.

missionary, he chose for his own part in this movement the search for a navigable river [the Zambezi], by which steamships could enter the interior" to create an "open path for commerce and Christianity."[27] Responding to this famous appeal by Livingstone in 1857, and following a disastrous attempt to establish a viable station at Magomero in the Zambezi Valley, the Anglican Universities' Mission to Central Africa (UMCA) established a mission on Zanzibar in 1864 and began the work of converting five African boys who had been freed from enslavement.[28] The UMCA expanded to other locations on the mainland, and they were followed over the next two decades by a flood of Christian missionaries from other countries and denominations. Missionaries from England, France, and later Germany fanned out over much of Tanganyika to establish their own missions.

Initially, these missionaries built complexes along established trade routes, where they found Kiswahili to be most useful as a means of communicating with potential African converts who spoke many different local African languages. However, as the missions began moving away from the trade routes, missionaries found Kiswahili to be less useful.[29] This evidence supports the idea that Kiswahili was intimately connected to the East African trading system. In the missionary experience we also find evidence regarding the relationship between Kiswahili and other African languages. For example, one UMCA missionary remarked in 1882, "A large number of [African] men...can talk

---

[27] Roland Oliver, *The Missionary Factor in East Africa* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1952), p.11.

[28] Ibid., pp. 13-5; Sahlberg, p.34; George Herbert Wilson, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), pp. 9-13.

[29] Whiteley, pp. 53-5.

Swahili fairly well. Still, for many years to come, it will be necessary for missionaries to

learn [Bondei], if they would understand and be understood by the people generally."[30]

This quote points out one of the characteristic dynamics of language usage and policy in

Tanganyika. Several prominent missionaries like Johannes Krapf of the CMS and

Bishop Steere of the UMCA believed Kiswahili to be a suitable language for teaching

Christianity to Africans and promoted it as such.

On the other hand, there were some missionaries who viewed the language as

being too intimately connected to Islam and thus inappropriate for evangelizing among

susceptible Africans.[31] Kiswahili was, moreover, written in Arabic script. The problem

of the "Arabness" of Kiswahili would continue to rear its head during the colonial

period, with both missionaries and German observers questioning the use of a language

which seemed to be so tied to Arab culture and Islam. These concerns were, however,

never enough to raise serious doubt among colonial administrators that Kiswahili would

be the primary language of administration.

Generally speaking, it was the missionaries who were largely responsible for the

"formalization" of Kiswahili during these years. They also devoted considerable effort to

formalizing some of the local languages. While these were important at the local level,

their long-term importance was not comparable to the linguistic work done with

Kiswahili by various missions. For example, Bishop Steere of the UMCA began learning

---

[30] Ibid., p.55. This quote hints at a gendered aspect of language acquisition, which will be discussed more in Chapter Three.

[31] Marcia Wright, "Swahili Language Policy, 1890-1940," in *Swahili*, XXXV [1965], p. 3. See also Anthony Smith, "The Missionary Contribution to Education (Tanganyika) to 1914," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 60, March 1963, p. 94.

Kiswahili in his first year at Zanzibar, and by 1865 had printed the beginnings of a grammar and a book of hymns in Kiswahili. The work of Krapf has already been mentioned. Reverend C. Büttner of the German Evangelical Mission Society (Lutherans) wrote a Kiswahili grammar, which was published by the Oriental Seminar in Berlin in 1887.[32] While there are many such examples that could be given, it is sufficient to note here that the study and formalization of African languages was central to the work of most missions in pre-colonial Tanganyika. In addition, many missions owned printing presses, which were used to print Bibles, hymnals, grammars and other documents useful to the mission enterprise. Thus the missions were central to the expansion of literacy in Kiswahili and many local languages among Tanganyikans.

Of course, the primary reason that the missions were producing such works was to aid them in converting as many Africans as possible to their particular version of Christianity. Competition between different missionary societies was quite fierce, with Protestants and Catholics vying for converts and vilifying each other.[33] In addition, the Christians felt a constant threat from Islam ("Mohammedanism"), believing that their converts would be lured away by the "easier path" offered by that religion.[34] There was also the ever-present threat of "heathenism" (indigenous African religions). For example, the mission diary for the UMCA mission station at Mkuzi for the year 1881-

---

[32] S. Von Sicard, *The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania 1887-1914* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1970), p. 56.

[33] Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*, pp. 87-91; Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 120.

[34] Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*, p 84. See also Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914* (Helsinki: Lit Verlag, 1994), pp. 582-3.

1892 is rife with missionary complaints about the difficulty of keeping converts on the right path in the face of Muslim and "heathen" influences. In an entry dated November 8th, 1890, a missionary writes,

> Cyprian Lubwaza informed me today that Mchazi, Mohammedan *mwalimu* [teacher] . . . deliberately tries to draw him from Christianity, calling him *mpumbavu* [a fool] and laughing at him before others. Mchazi is the prime agent in all opposition to us. I feel sure. His *baraza* is a great meeting place.[35]

It is interesting that the missionary uses the applicable Kiswahili terms to describe this incident. From this diary entry we can see that Kiswahili was used for two conflicting purposes--Christian and Muslim proselytization--in a small community.

Despite the apparent difficulties of evangelizing Africans (in this case, Bondei), the missionaries persevered. At the Mkuzi station, missionaries were actively engaged in conducting regular services for the community, including Christians and non-Christians, and in teaching the Christian converts. For example, on Christmas Day in 1886,

> [t]he day commenced with Mattins, a large number of the Heathen were present. At 10 a.m. Bondei Litany, Hymns and address. A procession was formed at the house, and marched round the yard singing "Njooni tumwabudu [come worship him]." The church was crowded to the door, seats were placed in the aisle, and the boys sat in the chancel. Irving preached, Lawrence Kombo interpreting...[36]

This passage highlights several issues of importance in discussing mission activities. First, it demonstrates that services were given in the local language, Bondei. However, it also shows that Kiswahili was in use to some degree, because the congregation is singing a hymn in Kiswahili. This is also confirmed by recurring entries in the diary, such as

---

[35] Mkuzi mission diary, Tanzania National Archives (italics mine). See also Wilson, pp. 76-7. In his words, around the Mkuzi station "the bulk of the population were fanatically Muhammadan and very suspicious of the Mission."

[36] Ibid.

"Swahili celebration at 7.0." There are also some entertaining entries which show that the missionaries were speaking Kiswahili routinely: "*Siku kuu* [holiday] for those who *soma* [study] and games for children . . . People should *twanga* [pound grain] very early in the morning . . ."[37] In the above passage, it is also noteworthy that the service was interpreted by an African convert, Lawrence Kombo. This implies that the missionary Irving did not speak Bondei. There are several entries in the diary which hint at the idea that UMCA missionaries were heavily reliant on African catechists for teaching the local people Christianity as well as more "secular" subjects. However, most of the missionaries who wrote in the diary also seem to have been familiar with Kiswahili.

These excerpts from the Mkuzi mission diary are examples of the complex dynamics of mission communities. They are probably representative of the situation at other mission stations in Tanganyika. The missionaries were usually successful in converting a few local Africans to Christianity, but did not achieve overwhelming success among the masses during this period. In most cases, the missionaries were confronted with at least one local language. They either learned these themselves or employed African converts to assist them in giving sermons and teaching school. Most missionaries did speak Kiswahili, however, and used it wherever possible.[38] Most missionaries were also engaged in the formalization of local languages and Kiswahili, translating Bibles, and hymnals, and writing grammars and dictionaries to facilitate the conversion of more Africans.

---

[37] Ibid., December 28th 1890. Italics mine.

[38] There were exceptions to this. Some of the German missions were strongly against the teaching of Kiswahili to their converts. This will be discussed more thoroughly in the next chapter.

Competition from other Christian missions was another important factor in the lives of missionaries to Tanganyika. This competition led the missions to produce more and more tools to aid in reaching potential converts. For example, the whole Bible had been translated into Kiswahili by 1888 by UMCA missionaries.[39] Almost a decade earlier, a complete Kiswahili Liturgy was used in UMCA services. Given that such documents written in Kiswahili existed, and missionaries had been using the language to communicate with Africans from as early as the 1860's, it can be argued that the missionaries played an important role in furthering the spread of Kiswahili beyond the trading routes. However, it is important to remember that Kiswahili was in wide use in the region well before the appearance of the first Europeans in the late 1840's. The trading networks had a long pre-European history, and Kiswahili had been an important part of that history.

A final note on the role of the missions in the spread of Kiswahili is necessary. The men, and to a lesser extent, women who were converted to Christianity during these years leading up to formal colonialism were, by and large, the first generation of inland Africans who became literate. Many of them learned Kiswahili in the mission schools, and became members of the mission staffs as pastors, teachers, and assistants.[40] Although they could not have known it at the time, they possessed valuable skills which would be much sought after during the German colonial period. Having learned Kiswahili in the mission schools, this new group of educated, Christianized

---

[39] Wilson, p. 84.

[40] Marcia Wright, *German Missions,* pp. 18-9, 102-3.

Tanganyikans was the precursor to the educated elite of the colonial period. Their involvement in the spread of Kiswahili through their work in the missions, colonial administration and government school system would become a factor in the further spread of Kiswahili among Tanganyikans. The factors present in the pre-colonial era-- trade, missions, Islam, and the penetration of Europeans further inland--were still present under colonialism in the early 1890's, when Kiswahili became the primary language of instruction and colonial administration.[41] The establishment of German colonialism, the development of a colonial language policy, and the complex interactions between missionaries and colonialists on the subject of language policy will be discussed in the following chapter.

---

[41] Ibid. See also Karim F. Hirji, "Colonial Ideological Apparatuses in Tanganyika Under the Germans," in *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule*, M.H.Y Kaniki, ed. (London: Longman, 1979), p. 202.

CHAPTER 2
THE ESTABLISHMENT OF GERMAN COLONIALISM AND THE FORMATION OF LANGUAGE POLICY AND PRACTICE

This chapter explains the development of German colonial language policy in German East Africa - a policy which evolved gradually over the course of about ten years. In order to provide a meaningful explanation of this process, it is necessary to begin by briefly discussing how Tanganyika came to be a German colony through the expeditions of Dr. Carl Peters, which began in 1884. The establishment of the formal colonial structure is considered next, with a focus on the evolution of educational and administrative structures for the new colony. Colonial language policy, as an integral part of these structures, is explained in depth. Most importantly, this chapter explains how it was that the Germans began to offer rewards to schools for teaching German, when both their stated language policy and their practice emphasized the use of Kiswahili. The explanation for this contradiction lies in the difference between local colonial realities and German nationalistic visions in the distant metropole.

Carl Peters and the Deutsch Ostafrika Gesellschaft (DOAG)

Germany's involvement in Tanganyika began with the grandiose personal ambitions of Carl Peters, a twenty-eight year old German intellectual. He has been likened to Cecil Rhodes, sharing with him "an upbringing in a country parsonage, a

29

visionary-romantic streak, ruthlessness, and a touch of megalomania."[1] Riding the tide

of a burgeoning colonial movement in Germany in the early 1880's, Peters and some of

his associates founded the Society for German Colonization *(Gesellschaft für Deutsche*

Kolonisation) in 1884. That year, with meager private funding, the Society embarked on

its first expeditions into the Tanganyikan interior. Within a period of three weeks, the

Society had managed to collect twelve "treaties" covering 140,000 kilometers of African

territory. These were concluded with the lesser *majumbe* (Swahili chiefs) of the coastal

hinterland under the most dubious of circumstances, as this passage describes:

> [T]hey made blood-brotherhood with the headman, read aloud a German treaty, explained
> it through an interpreter, obtained some scribbled crosses, fired three salvoes, and [said]
> 'Mafungu Biniani, Lord of Kwatunge Kwaniani etc., Sultan of Unguu . . . herewith cedes
> the territory of Kwaniani Kwatunge in Unguu . . . for all time and at full discretion to Dr.
> Peters as representative of the Society for German Colonisation.'[2]

Despite a well-known dislike for Peters, Imperial Chancellor Otto von Bismarck advised

him to expand his claims to territory and to create a chartered company on the eve of the

Berlin Conference in 1885. At the Conference, which was convened by Bismarck, the

African continent was effectively divided, at least on paper, amongst the various

European powers. Immediately following the Conference, Bismarck granted Peters'

organization (now the German East African Company, or DOAG) an imperial

protectionary charter. Germany had now formally joined the Scramble for Africa.

---

[1] L.H. Gann & Peter Duignan, *The Rulers of German Africa, 1884-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977), p. 11.

[2] Text quoted in John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 90. See also Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914* (Helsinki: Lit Verlag, 1994), pp. 72-4.

Over the next few years, the DOAG expanded its territory considerably on the mainland by establishing trading outposts and stations. Due to a lack of human and financial resources, however, the territory could not be adequately administered through these stations. Quite understandably, the new German presence and the often excessive behavior of the "romantics, dreamers and vagabonds" of the DOAG provoked hostility from the inhabitants of the region. [3] Lt. Edvard Gleerup, the Swedish traveler mentioned in the previous chapter, remarked in 1886 that while visiting Mohamed bin Kassim, an important local Arab,

> [t]he conversation turned again to the Germans who at that time were very unpopular in East Africa . . . . Harders, trading in ivory, had caused ill-feeling among the Arabs . . . . he had refused to pay toll for the ivory and had constantly threatened the intervention of his government . . . . In Usagara the Germans had behaved in an even more menacing manner; they had forced a man and woman who were working in the fields to carry their loads; they had maltreated them and when a fight arose out of this one of them had been wounded . . . . In short, there was no end to the complaints against the behaviour of these strangers. [4]

This passage clearly demonstrates that although the Germans had not yet developed a coherent administrative structure, the exploitation of the local populace and their resources had undoubtedly gotten underway. Back in Germany, the question of whether or not to reform and expand the DOAG into a more efficient organization which would better be able to control the colony was ultimately decided by events which occurred along the Swahili coast.

---

[3] Koponen, *Development*, p.77.

[4] Per Hassing and Norman R. Bennett, "A Journey Across Tanganyika in 1886," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 58 & 59, March and September, 1962, p.138.

The Bushiri Rebellion

In August 1888 the Zanzibari Sultan agreed to lease the Swahili coastal strip of Tanganyika, which he controlled, to the DOAG for trade, collection of customs, and land usage.[5] In addition, his *maliwali*, or coastal administrators, were instructed to obey the new German administrators. As Jonathon Glassman argues, "[a]lthough Khalifa was apparently not fully aware of it, the treaty he had signed with Peters...had granted the Company [DOAG] virtually all administrative powers on the coast."[6] The Germans had assumed that they could simply take over authority in place of the Sultan--"that the populace was a passive mass properly resigned to some authority but having no voice in its form."[7]

As the Germans were soon to discover, however, asserting power over the coast was no small task. It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss the multi-layered dynamics of the "Bushiri Rebellion" which began in September 1888 and continued until it was finally put down by the Germans in 1890.[8] While the Bushiri Rebellion temporarily hindered the imposition of German colonial rule, it also was a primary factor

---

[5] Koponen, *Development*, p. 80. Sultan Khalifa, the Zanzibari Sultan, controlled a strip of land along the Mrima coast, which expanded ten-miles into the coastal hinterland. Robert D. Jackson argues that "From the Sultan's point of view, he was merely agreeing to farm out to the Germans the collection of export duties, as his predecessors had done to Indians for years . . . . But the German agents had no intention of limiting themselves to the profits to be made from customs duties. They intended from the outset to challenge the sovereignty of the Sultan, and they intended to emerge victorious." Robert D. Jackson, "Resistance to the German Invasion of the Tanganyikan Coast, 1888-1891," in *Protest and Power in Black Africa*, Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), p. 46.

[6] Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995), p. 200.

[7] Jackson, p. 47.

[8] This issue has been covered in depth in Glassman's work mentioned above.

in the ultimate decision by Bismarck to formally administer the colony. Fearing a loss of international prestige and withdrawal of investment funds from the DOAG, Bismarck was finally forced, reluctantly, to commit a "small but formidable" German military force to suppressing the revolt.[9] The two major rebel leaders, Abushiri and Bwana Heri, employed guerrilla tactics against their German foes during the protracted conflict, but were overcome in the end by superior German firepower. The coast was subdued by May 1890.[10] The next step for the conquerors was to make the German presence felt throughout the territory, a task which would occupy them for the rest of the decade.

The Colonial Administrative Structure

Following the suppression of the rebellion in 1890, the Germans set about the business of establishing formal administration and military control over the rest of the colony. As Glassman notes, "Conquest was not a single transforming moment, but a protracted, drawn-out process which in German East Africa was still incomplete a full twenty years after Carl Peters secured his first treaties."[11] Nevertheless, during the 1890's, the Germans made great strides in setting up a formal colonial structure. For their part, the Germans set up an Imperial Government, which was subordinate to the Colonial Director (*Kolonialdirektor*) back in Berlin. An Imperial Governor was appointed to rule in the colony's new capital, Dar es Salaam. Subordinate to the

---

[9] Iliffe, *A Modern History*, p. 97; Koponen, *Development*, pp. 82-84.

[10] However, African resistance in the interior continued to plague the Germans throughout the 1890's.

[11] Glassman, p. 270.

Governor were his staff and the various district officers. At first, these were military men, but later some were replaced by civil servants. Thus Germans occupied all of the highest levels of colonial government. By 1903, the colony had been divided into twelve civil and sixteen military districts, and each was headed by a German.[12] This small number of Germans was hardly enough to run a colony of this size efficiently.

In order to ease their new administrative burden, to solve the problem of their small colonial cadre, and due to a lack of "respected chiefs,"[13] the Germans appropriated established political institutions of the largely Islamic coastal area. Having secured the loyalty of the coastal "aristocrats" at the end of the rebellion, they proceeded to employ the *maliwali*, or coastal governors, as civil administrators. Similarly, they employed other coastal peoples to fill lesser colonial positions, such as *maakida* (subordinate administrators) and *askari* (police).[14] Inland and in the countryside, they employed *majumbe* (lesser chiefs), several of whom often worked for an *akida* of a large administrative area. The *maakida* collectively gained quite a powerful position, acting as tax collectors, judges, policemen and general administrators.[15] The *majumbe*, on the other hand, were in the unenviable position of having to represent the colonial state at the local level, while also being responsible for the "[e]xtraction of labour, porterage, or

---

[12] W.O. Henderson, "German East Africa, 1884-1918," in *History of East Africa*, Vincent Harlow and E.M. Chilver, eds., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 135.

[13] Translation of *Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1901-1902*, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, p. 3.

[14] Karim F. Hirji, "Colonial Ideological Apparatuses in Tanganyika Under the Germans," in *Tanzania Under German Rule*, M. H. Y. Kaniki, ed. (London: Longman, 1979), p. 201-2.

[15] Koponen, *Development*, p. 119.

whatever the colonialists happened to order through akidas or bigger chiefs."[16] Moreover, they were unpaid, since the position was considered to be "honorary."[17] In German historiography, the *maakida* and *majumbe* are the most discussed personalities of the colonial administration. Although some generalizations can be made about these offices and their roles in the administration, there was also considerable diversity in their employment depending on local considerations. Sometimes there were *maakida* without *majumbe*, or vice versa. In other cases, especially in the interior, local "traditional" chiefs were employed by the Germans, but essentially performed the same duties as the *majumbe*. In the interior, in contrast to the coast, the Germans felt that there were "respected and influential chiefs who [could] be used by the administration for carrying out its orders."[18] For example, Theodor Gunzert, a district commissioner in Mwanza on Lake Nyanza (Victoria) from 1907 to 1916, remarked on his efforts to increase his district's export production, saying,

> This was only possible with the cooperation of the blacks or their clan chiefs. I won their cooperation by making the latter the exclusive agents between their followers and the white administration, and to this end I backed up their authority as much as possible, investing it with official prestige . . . . In any case these hereditary institutions were much preferred to the alien akidas from the coast, and it was irresponsible to make the latter master over the population of the interior, as some of my colleagues did.[19]

---

[16] Ibid., p. 128.

[17] *Annual Report, 1901-1902*, p. 3.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Theodor Gunzert, "Memoirs of a German District Commissioner in Mwanza 1907-1916," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 66, 1966, p. 176.

This quotation clearly illustrates the inner workings of the colonial power structure. *Maakida* or *majumbe* were not required for direct control over the local people of the district.

The Mwanza case was not an isolated one, as the example of Matola II of the Yao in the remote southeast of Tanganyika demonstrates. Matola II was appointed as *akida* because "[t]he Germans regarded him as natural ruler of the superior Yao 'race' in Newala district." They of course had little idea of the complex ethnic intermixture of the district which Matola's rule had managed to mask.[20] As long as some mechanism was in place by which the German district officer could manage his district effectively and produce the output required of him, whether crops, taxes, or human labor resources, it did not much matter to the Germans who the middlemen were, or what the local politics were. It only mattered that the district officer was at the apex of the structure, and that he could somehow "talk down" to his subjects. A critical factor in this "vertical integration"[21] was the use of the Kiswahili language. As Whiteley suggests,

> Over the whole Colonial period Swahili was used throughout the District Administration as a means of communication between people and officialdom . . . It was thus a mark, if only secondarily, of social status; a means of reaching down to people, rather than enabling them to reach up to the administration.[22]

---

[20] Terence Ranger, "The Rise and Fall of the Matola Chiefs of South-East Tanzania," in *Journal of African History*, 20, I (1979), p. 74.

[21] "Vertical integration" is defined by Ali A. Mazrui and Pio Zirimu as "a process of interaction between different strata of the society, especially between the elite and masses." On the other hand, "horizontal integration" is defined "in terms of social communication and interaction across geographical and ethnic divisions of the society as a whole." See Ali A. Mazrui and Pio Zirimu, "Church, State, and Marketplace in the Spread of Kiswahili: Comparative Educational Implications," in *Case Studies in Bilingual Education*, Bernard Spolsky and Robert L. Cooper, eds. (Rowley: Newbury House Publishers, 1978), p. 439, 440.

[22] Wilfred Whiteley, *Swahili: the Rise of a National Language* (London: Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1969), p. 61.

But, as will be shown later, Kiswahili could also be employed by Africans to "reach up" to attain some measure of power within the new regime.

Kiswahili Usage in German Colonial Administration

Most, if not all, of the men initially employed by the Germans for administrative purposes following the rebellion were coastal Muslims (Arabs and Swahili). Many of them were literate, having been educated in the Koranic schools which mainly existed along the coast, although a few of these schools also existed in centers along the interior caravan routes. In these schools, they were taught to read and write Kiswahili in Arabic script. Of course, they were also Kiswahili speakers. The Germans perceived the coastal peoples to be a "culturally advanced element" who would be an appropriate group to assist them in governing the colony.[23] This was part of the reasoning by which the Germans co-opted some coastal Swahili to be their subordinates.

In addition, they had realized remarkably early that Kiswahili had potential to be an extremely useful language for them. Kiswahili had proven itself to be of great utility for missionaries, explorers, traders, and the military well before German conquest. By 1888, the Oriental Seminar at Berlin University was teaching courses in Kiswahili for prospective travelers to German East Africa. Hermann von Wissmann, the commander of the German *Schutztruppe* (literally, protection troops) during the conquest, insisted that officers destined for German East Africa learn Kiswahili to facilitate the occupation

---

[23] Marcia Wright, "Local Roots of Policy in German East Africa," in *Journal of African History*, IX, 4 (1968), p. 625.

and administration of the colony.[24] Colonial administrators were also required to attend the Oriental Seminar Kiswahili course before being sent off for duty in Africa. Meanwhile, scholars like Carl Velten made efforts to gather "extensive material that added to Swahili literature generally and supplied substance for teaching in Berlin."[25] This type of work led to increased "rationalization and standardization" of the language-- work that had been started in the 1840's and which had been continued in the various missions in German East Africa since then. These two ideas--the attribution of a certain prestige to the coastal Kiswahili-speakers and the recognition of Kiswahili as a potential *lingua franca*--combined to result in Imperial Governor von Soden's logical decision, apparently taken immediately after the conquest of the coast in 1890, to make Kiswahili the primary language of administration for the colony. This decision was questioned by German cultural nationalists, who believed that German should be the primary language, and by some missionaries later on, who believed that local African languages or German should be used. However, the opposition never truly threatened the position that Kiswahili had attained since the mid-1800s. In short, the German administration was based from the start on the premise that its affairs would be conducted in one of these languages--Kiswahili or German. These were the foundations upon which the German East Africa colony was built.

The lower echelons of administration, however, were not exclusively occupied by Kiswahili-speakers from the coastal areas. There had also historically been Kiswahili-

---

[24] Wright, "Swahili Language Policy," p. 2; Wright, "Local Roots," p. 623-4.

[25] Wright, "Swahili Language Policy," p. 3.

speakers among some groups of the interior, whose skills had been necessary for the conduct of trade with the coast. In addition, Kiswahili-speaking and literate Tanganyikans had been educated in the missions since the 1860's. As the Germans expanded their rule into the interior, some of these individuals were hired to be their administrative representatives among these more remote groups. One such group that was integrated into the German structure was the Shambaa, some of whom had previously established themselves in middleman roles in the regional caravan trade. The Shambaa had been "agents of spreading such coastal cultural influences as the Swahili language . . . " in the neighboring Pare region prior to German rule.[26] They also spoke Kipare, the local language. Thus there were Shambaa available to the Germans who could be employed for administrative duties. The Shambaa were among the first of the interior groups to accept German authority. The Germans installed a Shambaa *akida* over the neighboring Pare. In so doing they demonstrated a standard colonial ignorance of local politics,[27] but were nevertheless successful in securing their goal of having loyal administrators who spoke Kiswahili. Such Shambaa individuals were invaluable to German administration in the region, and thus achieved some measure of power over other Africans in the region. In fact, as Isaria Kimambo notes,

> as soon as the Pare discovered that people with some knowledge of Swahili were likely to rank high with the German officials, they began to send their sons to live with the [Shambaa] on the plains so that they could learn Swahili. One of the persons who learned Swahili in this way was Mashauri Makenga, who became the akida of North Pare later. His father had noticed the advantages gained by those who knew Swahili, even when

---

[26] Isaria Kimambo, "The Pare," in *Tanzania Before 1900*, Andrew Roberts, ed. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968), p. 31.

[27] Isaria Kimambo, *A Political History of the Pare* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969), p. 188, 202.

recruited for labour (mainly as porters) . . . Mashauri agrees that this was a significant step in his future career.[28]

Tanganyikans recognized that Kiswahili was becoming more important throughout the colony. For example, in the Usukuma region near Lake Nyanza, one of the most remote outposts of German colonial power, the Germans bolstered the power of the local *batemi* (rulers) as a means of controlling the area.[29] In order to keep in close contact with the *batemi*, some of whom lived quite far away from the *boma* (military/administrative headquarters), the Germans required that each *batemi* be represented at the *boma* by a *katikiro*. The *katikiro* were assigned to be "ambassadors" of sorts, or messengers between the *boma* and the *batemi* and vice versa. Most importantly for the purposes of this study, the *katikiro* were required to speak Kiswahili well. This system became firmly entrenched in the Mwanza district: before 1895 there were only fourteen *katikiro* in the district, but by 1900 there were forty.[30] By the time Theodor Gunzert became district commissioner in 1906, the *katikiro* were wielding considerable power, and some had even acquired *batemi* positions to which they were not traditionally entitled.[31] As Buluda Itandala argues,

> What gave them advantage was their constant contact with the German colonial officials whose intentions and ways of doing things they came to know fairly well. Another advantage they had was their knowledge of Kiswahili, which was used as the . . . language of administration.[32]

---

[28] Ibid.

[29] See also above quote from Gunzert's memoirs.

[30] Ralph Austen, *Northwest Tanzania Under German and British Rule* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 49.

[31] Buluda Itandala, "African Response to German Colonialism in East Africa: The Case of Usukuma, 1890-1918," in *Ufahamu*, XX, I, Winter 1992, p. 21.

[32] Ibid.

Clearly, the ability to speak Kiswahili became a key to advancement under German colonialism. Those who spoke Kiswahili came to occupy a special place in the changing political landscape of Tanganyika, and stood to gain both relative wealth and prestige which was not necessarily available to those who, for whatever reasons, did not learn Kiswahili.

It is important to note that the nascent Kiswahili-speaking elite, whether from the coast or from inland groups, was consistently viewed by their "subjects" as outsiders, or usurpers of power. In the examples given above, the *maakida, majumbe,* and *katikiro* often held power over Africans who were not necessarily of their same ethnic group or clan. For example, the Pare were placed under the *akida*-ship of a Shambaa. Although the Pare had already become politically fragmented with the expansion of trade into the region in the 1860's, the presence of the *maakida* under colonialism "threatened the survival of chieftainship, since most of the individuals who held the office were able to intervene with great authority in local politics."[33] Such power was likely perceived by the Pare as illegitimate. Similarly, in the case of the Sukuma in Mwanza district, some *katikiro* were able to usurp power from "traditional" chiefs by currying favor with the Germans. For example, Ng'wanilanga, an assistant to a local *ntemi,* was appointed *ntemi* himself after the deportation of a previous *ntemi* from his post to the coast in 1906. According to Itandala,

> The Germans were apparently so impressed by his work in tax collection, labor supply, and in keeping the government informed about what was going on in the area that they decided to reward him for it by making him *ntemi* of Itilima to which the other *bahoja* [affiliate] divisions of Ndudumo, Zagayu, Nyasambe, and Ndagalu were soon added as

---

[33] Kimambo, *A Political History,* p. 203.

their *bahoja* [rulers] were deposed one after the other. Being literate and *a fluent speaker of Kiswahili*, and on the basis of his good record as a former government agent and *katikiro* of Ng'wagala, Ng'wanilanga was able to convince the Germans that the rest of the *bahoja* divisions of Ng'wagala in the Simiyu valley could best be administered under his authority because their *batemi bahoja* were inefficient, backwardlooking traditionalists.[34]

In a sense then, it could be argued that some Tanganyikans used their Kiswahili-speaking ability and their concomitant access to administrative positions within the German colonial structure to "reach up" to the Germans (see Whiteley quote above). In other words, Kiswahili did not just give power to the Germans to "reach down" to their subjects. It also gave a measure of power to African administrators, who could use it to enhance their political positions and to rule where they might not have been able prior to colonialism.

Of course, many of these "alien" administrators were viewed with hostility by Tanganyikans, who were subject to their sometimes arbitrary and excessive behavior.[35] In a 1903 letter from a UMCA mission station in Korogwe chiefdom to the *Bezirksamt* (District Office) Wilhelmstal (now Lushoto in the Shambaa region), missionary Father Kisbey asks the district officer "whether [the Christians of Korogwe] must do government work on Sundays. Sometimes they cannot come to church as they are given work on that day by the *akida.*" He also asks "what authority--if any--has *akida* Ngoma over me[?] Sometimes when I agree with the chief and people of a certain village to

---

[34] Itandala, p. 17. (italics mine)

[35] There were some exceptions to this. For example, T.O. Beidelman could find no evidence of harsh treatment by *maakida* in Ukaguru, but attributes this to the fact that the two *maakida* in this very large and rugged area probably had little direct contact with most of Kaguru. T.O. Beidelman, "A History of Ukaguru: 1857-1916," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 58 & 59, 1962, p. 33.

build me a school I cannot get it done because *akida* Ngoma has not given his consent."[36]

This statement provides insight into a situation which must have arisen quite often in

German colonial Tanganyika. First, there is tension between the local people and the

akida Ngoma. Ngoma was the third *akida* to be appointed by the Germans to administer

the region of South Pare since 1891,[37] which encompassed Wilhelmstal and the UMCA

mission. Ngoma is said to have been a freed slave, a factor which might have

contributed to the locals' dislike of him.[38] Secondly, this letter shows that the local chief

was relatively less powerful than Ngoma, since his decision to help build the school is

dependent on approval by Ngoma. Thirdly, we are shown that Ngoma even exerts some

measure of power over the white missionaries, and apparently has no qualms about

extracting labor resources from the mission community as he deems necessary.[39]

Obviously, this situation is as irritating for Father Kisbey as it is for "the Christians of

Korogwe." Finally, Kisbey's intention to build a mission school in 1903 is symbolic of a

much broader movement that was sweeping German East Africa during these years--

---

[36] Tanzania National Archives, G54/35, XI/A/5, 18 August 1903, #31. The Seventh Day Adventists of Kihurio in southern Pare also complained of Ngoma's behavior.

[37] See discussion of the placement of *maakida* in the Pare region above.

[38] John Iliffe, *Tanganyika Under German Rule 1905-1912* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 184. Although there is no evidence of his religious affiliation, it is quite likely that Ngoma was also a Muslim--a factor which clearly would have added to the animosity felt by Father Kisbey and his followers toward him.

[39] This situation was also mentioned by Oscar Baumann, a German naturalist sent by the German government to explore the Usambara mountain region around 1890. He pointed out that the British missionaries were, in a sense, subordinate to the *maakida*. He writes, "Apart from the fact that it looks ridiculous for a gentleman in his handsome stone-house to be the subordinate of a negro in a mud hut, such a situation seems to me completely injurious to the authority of the Europeans, and the 'prestige of the white man' which is so cherished . . ." Oscar Baumann, *Usambara and its Neighboring Regions*, transl. M.A. Godfredsen, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, p.104.

formal education. To sum up, Kiswahili-speaking administrators all over the territory exerted power to which they may not have had access before this time. It must have become increasingly clear to Tanganyikans that avenues for advancement within the colonial system were open to those who were qualified. For the most part, "qualified" meant the ability to speak Kiswahili, and a willingness to work for the Germans, often at the expense of other Africans. The primary means by which these parvenus achieved their new status was the German educational system, which eventually encompassed the mission schools.

Establishment of the Colonial Education System and Educational Language Policy

Governor von Soden made the development of an educational structure a priority soon after his arrival in German East Africa. Because of the small numbers of German colonialists committed to German East Africa, he knew that the colony would need educated Africans to function efficiently. He also felt strongly that the missions would not allow their converted graduates to leave the mission communities in large enough numbers to fulfill administration needs.[40] In 1892 the first German school opened at Tanga, a coastal town heavily influenced by Islamic culture. The medium of instruction was German.[41] It was financed by the German Colonial Society after the Foreign Office in Berlin refused to provide state funding for African schooling. It was sparsely attended

---

[40] Koponen, *Development*, pp. 503-4.

[41] George Hornsby, "A Brief History of Tanga School up to 1914," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, Nos. 58 & 59, March and September 1963, p. 148.

until the Germans ordered the domestic servants and *askari* of colonialists to attend.[42]
For obvious reasons, coastal parents were reluctant to send their children to schools run
by the Germans, who they suspected would teach Christianity. In some cases, Islamic
notables scornfully sent their slaves' children to German schools.[43] The established
Koranic schools offered stiff competition for the new German schools in these early
years.

By 1895 though, the Tanga school had been granted funding by the government,
and a new German headmaster, Paul Blank, had been hired to run the school. Two other
schools opened in that year, at Dar es Salaam and Bagamoyo, and these were followed
later by schools at Lindi, Kilwa and Pangani. All of these were along the Indian Ocean
coast. By establishing their schools along the coast in areas which were primarily
Islamic, the Germans sought to achieve two goals. First, they were filling a geographical
gap which most missions had purposely avoided, for they knew that their attempts at
conversion would be lost on the mainly Muslim population on the coast.[44] Secondly,
they hoped to capitalize on the presence of the "culturally advanced" Arab and Swahili
Muslims, whom they believed to be the best prospects for administrators. The Germans
continued to have problems with attendance at these schools until they realized that other
measures would have to be taken to increase the numbers of students. As Juhani
Koponen explains,

> The recruitment of pupils was extended towards the interior and speeded up through
> administrative measures. In 1896, headmen of the Tanga hinterland were obliged to send

---

[42]Koponen, *Development*, p. 505.

[43] Iliffe, *A Modern History*, p. 211. Most converts on the coast were freed slaves.

[44] Wright, "Swahili Language Policy," pp. 4-5.

their sons to the school for a year. The threshold to entering the school was lowered by founding a number of branch, or feeder, schools in the hinterland. A forceful impetus for schooling was given by the decree that all Kiswahili correspondence with the colonial state was to be written no longer in Arabic script, but in Latin script. When this came into force at the beginning of 1899, the town children of Tanga often had more difficulty with the use of the new script than did the chiefs' sons who had attended the schools in the interior. Then school attendance was made compulsory in Tanga town. From August 1899, all boys aged 6-15 years living there permanently were ordered to attend the school daily for at least two hours.[45]

German educational efforts finally began to pay off by the end of 1899, when the

Tanga school reported having 407 pupils and six standards (classes).[46] In the Annual

Report of 1901-1902, the Imperial Government reported that

> there has been a significant increase in school attendance after exercising mild pressure on the local, well-to-do and also intelligent Swahili population. The Arab-led Muslim Koranic schools are slowly declining as a consequence of the growing popularity of the government schools.[47]

In the same report, the Tanga school noted that its teaching aims and curriculum were

increasingly being devoted to German goals and needs.[48] These "goals and needs"

included the training of an efficient, yet cheap, Kiswahili-speaking, but non-Swahili,

African labor force to fill colonial junior administrative, teaching, and technical

positions. Kiswahili was fully incorporated into the government school curriculum

during the late 1890's. Thus by that time, the school system was on its way to producing

the labor force which von Soden had envisioned in 1892. In fact, government school

headmasters actually complained that it was a pity that their "gifted and intelligent"

---

[45] Koponen, *Development*, p. 506.

[46] Hornsby, p. 148.

[47] *Annual Report, 1901-1902*, p. 12.

[48] Ibid., p. 55.

senior students were being "handed over to the authorities or to private persons" and so would not be able to complete more advanced schooling.[49]

Yet there were more changes to come. A new governor, von Götzen, arrived in 1901. He is most remembered for having brought about "general reform and political balance of the administration." In addition, "[h]e accelerated the conversion from military to civil rule in interior districts, a change-over calling for large increases in the numbers of African civil servants."[50] Although von Götzen should have been able to turn to the mission schools to help him in achieving his goal, they were not really prepared to make a meaningful contribution in this respect, despite hints in the previous year of increased collaboration between the missions and the government in the educational system.

Juhani Koponen has characterized the development of the mission and government school systems in German East Africa before 1900 as separate and parallel.[51] During the 1890's there existed considerable tension between the mission and government schools, because "both considered education too important to be left entirely to the other." The missions, many of which were well established before the arrival of the German colonialists, were obviously reluctant to disengage literacy from conversion, which was their primary goal. On the other hand, the Imperial Government founded its schools based on a secular ideology. The mission and government schools were

---

[49] Ibid.

[50] Wright, "Local Roots," p. 627.

[51] Koponen, *Development*, p. 502.

competing for limited financial assistance from the *Reichstag*, and for the hearts, minds, and labor of Tanganyikans. Koponen notes, "[t]he central issues of educational policy became entangled with questions concerning policy of religion and language."[52] Not only was there disagreement between missions and colonial government on what language(s) should be used for instruction, but there was also disagreement among the various missions themselves on this issue. Some mission societies, like the UMCA and Holy Ghost Fathers, were in agreement with colonial government policy regarding the use of Kiswahili as the language of instruction, and in fact were pioneers of sorts in this area. Others, however, such as the Lutherans and Moravians, were steadfastly against it. As if this situation were not complex enough, the German government in Berlin began to request that the study of German become a standard part of the curriculum in German East African schools.

In 1900, German Benedictine missionaries organized a delegation which traveled to Berlin during the *Reichstag*'s budget session to complain that no Christians were getting jobs in the colonial administration. They pointed out that the administration was dominated by Muslims and graduates of the secular government schools, and questioned the Imperial Government's request for funds to pay for more teachers from Germany for the government schools. As a result, the *Reichstag* placed restraints on the rapid spread of the government "hinterland" schools into the interior. The Imperial Government was not to build any more new schools where mission schools already existed. Henceforward, all new administrators were to be selected from among the Christian

---

[52]Ibid.

African population. In return, the mission schools agreed to prepare their converts for duty as junior administrative officials. Thus around the time of von Götzen's arrival in German East Africa, the beginning of a wary collaboration between the missions and the government was underway. In the Annual Report for 1901-1902, there is mention that "some mission schools have . . . adopted the curriculum of the government schools"--a clear sign that the educational system was beginning to become more unified. The report also includes a detailed description of the government school curriculum, which notes that Kiswahili and German are both subjects of instruction (along with arithmetic, geography, natural history, drawing, music, and gymnastics), and that the language of instruction is Kiswahili.[53]

In agreeing to educate their converts for administration, the mission schools also tacitly agreed to revamp their curricula to achieve this goal.[54] For some missions, this meant adding the teaching of Kiswahili, regardless of the disdain for the language held by some missionaries. Moreover, both mission and government schools were now overtly encouraged to teach German through the creation in 1902 of a special fund for the rewarding of "good achievements" in German teaching.[55] There are indications that this policy had in fact been under consideration in the colony for some time before its actual implementation. Marcia Wright suggests that it had been possible since 1898 for mission schools to receive subsidies for promoting the German language, but that these funds

---

[53] *Annual Report 1901-1902*, pp. 12, 61.

[54] Koponen, *Development*, pp. 507-513; Wright, "Local Roots," p. 627.

[55] Koponen, *Development*, p. 511.

were often used by government officials in Dar es Salaam for furthering Kiswahili instead.[56] Documentary evidence from 1897 also suggests that the Imperial Government was very concerned with which languages were being taught in the mission schools. A letter dated April 21st, 1897 from Father Woodward, UMCA priest-in-charge of the Magila mission in Bondei to the Tanga District Commissioner, and written in Kiswahili, says, ". . . I am informing you that we do not yet teach the German language in our school, but we teach the children who are continuing [their studies] English because there are no religious books available in the Kiswahili language."[57] Another UMCA missionary echoed this problem in a letter to the governor's office dated June 21st, 1897, but adds, "If you will send one suitable book [in] German and English, I will endeavour to teach the boys a little, as long as I am here, but I expect to go away about September."[58] CMS missionaries also reported that they only taught in "native" languages--Kigogo, Kimegi, Kisokore, and Kiswahili--and that none of the missionaries spoke German.[59] Clearly, and not surprisingly, there was a lack of enthusiasm among English missionaries for teaching in German. But even some German missionaries were against it. On 4 May 1897, the Moshi station chief wrote a letter to the Imperial Governor's office in which he noted that "the Leipzig Lutheran mission located in this district uses Kichagga in its lessons, and indeed, only teaches the language in the dialects spoken in the areas . . . where the mission has sub-stations." But he also notes that "the

---

[56] Wright, "Local Roots," pp. 626-7; Koponen, *Development*, p. 512. Koponen also notes that the fund was used in this fashion, on the pretext that the mastery of Kiswahili would facilitate the learning of German.

[57] Tanzania National Archives, G/9/54, 1894-1898, p. 233.

[58] Ibid., p. 245.

[59] Ibid., p. 237.

Catholic mission . . . uses Kiswahili for lessons and teaches all pupils Kiswahili. No

missions teach in the German language."[60] It is unclear exactly what prompted this series

of correspondences between the missions, the district officers, and the Imperial

Government. It is clear, however, that most missions were teaching everything *but*

German. It is also clear that the Government was quite interested in knowing the extent

to which German was being taught--or not taught--in the Protectorate. Perhaps the policy

that emerged in 1902 was already in the works in 1897.

Certainly Governor von Götzen was thinking about such a policy by 1901, as a

letter written from his office to the Mpwapwa station chief, Captain Karl Charisius,

demonstrates. In that letter, von Götzen asked if it would be worthwhile to devote

money to the promotion of the spread of the German language within the Protectorate.

He asked Charisius to review the efforts of the missionary societies in his region to see

how much effort they were devoting to the promotion of German. He also asked that in

future reports the station chiefs state which mission schools were teaching German, and

what kind of results they had achieved.[61] All of this data, collected from each of the

districts, appeared in the Annual Report for the year. In the summary section of the

report, the administration noted that

> a number of missions have begun including teaching of German in their curricula,
> although they only started this year, so progress is minimal. Some missions refuse to
> teach natives in any language other than their own; in other cases, the missionaries have
> only a weak command of German, if at all. For the sake of encouraging the teaching of

---

[60] Ibid., p. 235.

[61] Tanzania National Archives, G/36/14 XIV/B/1, 1900-1911, Bezirksamt Mpwapwa, 18 December 1901, (my translation).

German, there are plans for awarding the premiums to those mission schools which show good results in German.[62]

Thus by 1901 the overt language policy, as reflected in the government school curriculum, stressed the need for mission and state schools to teach both Kiswahili and German. In particular, for Kiswahili

> [t]he aim [was] to enable the pupils to write Swahili correctly with Latin letters, according to the orthography introduced to the school, to read Latin print and handwriting fluently, to make the pupils able to write down their thoughts independently in form of essays, letters, reports and further to provide them with some knowledge of grammar.

On the other hand, German lessons were supposed to

> make the pupils understand and speak German in a simple form and further to write down correctly what they have understood. The pupils are being taught to read German in printed and handwritten Latin characters. The drills are: translation, dictation, and conversation . . . .[63]

As evidenced by these quotations, there were some important differences between the teaching goals set out for Kiswahili and for German.

The above two quotations, and the differences between them, summarize much about the intent of German colonial language policy. First, there was a stress placed on learning Latin script. This was in response to repeated complaints made by both missionaries in German East Africa and observers back in Germany that Arabic script was linked to Islam and should therefore be eradicated from government correspondence.[64] More significantly though, the passages hint at the nature of

---

[62] *Annual Report, 1901-1902*, p. 13.

[63] Ibid., pp. 61-2.

[64] Charles Pike, "History and Imagination: Swahili Literature and Resistance to German Language Imperialism in Tanzania, 1885-1910," in *International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 19, 2 (1986), p.224.

language usage in German East Africa, and perhaps foreshadow what might have happened had German rule not been cut short by World War I. Kiswahili was to be taught in such a way that students would learn to use the language "independently," or without supervision. While there is an emphasis on literacy for the purposes of administration (reports, letters, grammar), this does not seem to be the only aim. It seems possible at this point that the Germans were interested in further spreading Kiswahili not just for administrative purposes, but as a means of "giving" Africans their own language--"simpler" than German, but more "advanced" than the local languages, and more "politically correct" than English--which would be suitable for "thinking independently."[65] On the other hand, it is clear that the goal of German teaching was to teach basic skills--perhaps just enough to receive and understand orders or requests made by German administrators, settlers, and managers of agriculture and industry. Note that there is no emphasis on grammar or comprehension for the teaching of German.

The final section of the 1901-1902 Annual Report summarizes the goals of the administration with regard to African education:

> The special preparatory training has a double aim. First [it is] to provide general instruction at the most elementary level, since the general population doesn't understand the importance of school; in addition, to inculcate a sense of order and cleanliness, assiduity and duty, while also evoking a faith in the authorities and contributing to the penetration of the German spirit into the people, to making German manners and German morals conscious and understood.
> The second aim is to provide the natives--the adults too--with a training enabling them to be employed in government service within a relatively short time. Therefore, besides the general instruction, attention is also being paid to special instruction for defined purposes:
> - emphasis on independent formulation of short, clear reports on events, observations; compiling lists of taxes, payments, etc.
> - working knowledge of decrees, ordinances and their purposes and meanings (German criminal and civil law)

---

[65] This idea and its implications will be discussed in more detail in the final section of this chapter.

> No effort has been spared in order to create a higher ethical and moral ideology instead of the deeply rooted Muslim views and principles of polygamy, slavery, etc.[66]

While this section does not specifically address the issue of language, it is clear that the language policy described above meshed perfectly with these particular goals for educating the African population of German East Africa. The desire to inculcate German work values; the disdain for Islam; and the intention to train Africans for very specific duties that would involve transmission and enforcement of colonial policy were all themes lurking beneath German colonial language policy. These were part and parcel of German colonialism.

With an understanding of what German colonial language policy was in theory, it is now possible to compare and contrast it to what it was in practice. The next section analyzes evidence from the years 1901 to 1905 to demonstrate that policy and practice did not always coincide. The reasons for this disjuncture stemmed from the various interests of those involved--the government school teachers, the missionaries, the Imperial Government, and the *Reichstag*. Of course, the African students, teachers, assistants and administrators were also important factors. Each of these groups had their own ideas regarding language use in German East Africa. The conflicting interests of these groups are illustrated in the Government documents from the years 1901-1905.

German Colonial Language Policy in Practice

The language situation in German East Africa was quite complex, with an overwhelming variety of languages being spoken throughout the region. These included

---

[66] Ibid., p. 64.

a multitude of indigenous African languages other than Kiswahili, as well as European languages such as German, French, and English. In addition, the history of Kiswahili included a literary tradition which had employed Arabic script, and of course the preponderance of Arabic loan words in Kiswahili has been much discussed by scholars.[67] To add to the complexity of the situation, the Imperial Government, the missionaries, and the African inhabitants of Tanganyika often had competing interests, or at least interests which were not always mutually supportive. These various interests were reflected in how different groups employed language, or in how they thought it should be employed. By analyzing their decisions about which languages to use, and when to use them, we can gain insight into some of the inner workings of German colonialism. The evolution of language policy in German East Africa was reflective of all these interests, although clearly the policy as it existed at the turn of the century primarily reflected the interests of the dominant power group, the Imperial Government. We must now examine the language practice in relation to policy.

The Mission Schools and Language

Generally speaking, the language decisions made by missionaries were driven by five often overlapping, sometimes conflicting, interests. These were the conversion of as many Africans as possible to their particular denomination of Christianity; arresting the spread of Islam; access to financial and material support; the nationality of the

---

[67] See for example works by Whiteley, Nurse and Spear, and Mazrui and Shariff cited in Chapter 2.

missionaries; and racism. These are the recurring themes that emerge from a study of the documents of the period in question, which are now examined below.

The first order of business for missionaries in German East Africa was to bring Christianity to "the Dark Continent." In so doing, they also sought to bring "civilization" to the "heathenish" and "uncultured" Africans through education. They could not achieve either of these goals if they could not communicate with their potential converts. Realizing this, the missionaries made great efforts to learn the African languages of the communities they were hoping to convert. These included local Bantu languages such as Kikaguru, Kibondei, Kishambala, Kihaya, Kisukuma, and others. The missionaries were also actively involved in the production of texts in many local languages. For example, the White Fathers operating in the Lake Nyanza region reported in 1902 that "[b]esides little primers and reading-cards, the Mission supplied small booklets in biblical history in the . . . local dialects--Kigwe (Kisukuma), Kihaya, and Kinaruanda."[68] Nor were they alone in this undertaking. The Annual Report for 1905-1906 shows that various mission societies developed texts for Kinja, Kikonde, Kinyamwezi, Maasai, and Kimeru in that year.[69]

Most missionaries also learned and taught Kiswahili. The utility of this language as a *lingua franca* had been established quite early on by other missionaries like Krapf and Steere. Where Kiswahili was not spoken by the general population, missionaries often taught the language to converts. As with the local languages, Kiswahili texts of all

---

[68] *Annual Report, 1901-1902*, p. 43.

[69] Translation of *Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa, 1905-6*, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, pp. 30-53.

sorts were produced locally for mission use. Although it is hard to generalize about the missions in German East Africa, it is safe to say that most of them eventually used Kiswahili as their language of instruction, despite the misgivings some had about its linkage to Islam and its unsuitability for evangelizing.[70] Moreover, Kiswahili came to be seen by many missionaries as a more useful language than the local languages, because it had the potential to unite disparate language communities in the mission area. As Catholic missionaries in the southeastern corner of the colony reported in 1903, "Our first task is to teach [the local students] Swahili in order to have one language in school. We use the Swahili spelling-book and colloquial Swahili for this purpose."[71] The point here is that the strength of Kiswahili as a *lingua franca* was an aid to the overall conversion and "civilization" effort.

Kiswahili was considered more "worldly" than the local languages. This notion is expressed in a letter from CMS missionary D.J. Reis to the Governor's office in January 1904. In the letter, he describes the proceedings of the CMS Committee meeting at Mpwapwa, which occurred in the previous month. He happily reports that Kiswahili is being taught in all CMS schools except in Ugogo where, according to him, "it is premature to teach Swahili . . . because the people of that area are very heathen."[72] In

---

[70] See Iliffe, *Modern History,* p. 218. German Evangelical missions were the major opponents of Kiswahili for evangelizing. According to Iliffe, they were heavily influenced by Gustav Warneck's *Volksmission* ideology, which posited that "every human group had a distinctive culture to which Christianity should be adapted." Thus, they believed that in order to reach the hearts and minds of potential converts, they should evangelize in the "mother-tongue." Similarly, a *lingua franca* like Kiswahili was "unfitted to reach the innermost thoughts of those undergoing the conversion to Christianity." See Mazrui and Zirimu, pp. 431-2. See also Wright, *German Missions in Tanganyika 1890-1940: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), pp. 108-111.

[71] *Annual Report, 1902-1903,* p. 38.

[72] Tanzania National Archives, G9/24, IX/A/5, Vol. 2, 15 January 1904.

correlating the decision not to teach Kiswahili in Ugogo with Wagogo "heathen-ness," Reis implies that Kiswahili is a language which the Wagogo should not yet learn. His reasoning lay in the CMS' hostility toward Islam, which was viewed by missionaries as a much more lax, materialistic religion. In other words, he feared that if the "heathen," and in his estimation, "simple-minded," Wagogo learned Kiswahili before they were properly Christianized, that they would be unable to withstand the pull of Islam. The CMS, like other mission societies, was in an awkward position with regard to language. They needed Kiswahili in order to communicate with the many different peoples in the Ukaguru region, yet they feared its connections to Islam. Another example highlights the same issue--the "worldliness" of Kiswahili for Christianizing--in a different way. There is some evidence to indicate that Kiswahili was sometimes used for teaching "secular" school subjects, but that the local "dialect" was used for Christian teaching.[73] Kiswahili was seen as the "secular" language, while the local languages was seen to be the best way to teach Christianity to the African. Thus Kiswahili was taught only after the converts had become sufficiently "Christianized."[74]

In addition, Kiswahili was often used as the language of instruction for students who had completed primary school, and had moved on to more advanced classes. Presumably by the time they had completed their primary education, they were able to deal with any possible negative aspects associated with Kiswahili. Catholic Trappist

---

[73] *Annual Report, 1905-1906*, p. 53.

[74] One caveat is required here. It is generally accepted that explicit understanding of one's own language facilitates the learning of another. In this respect, one could argue that the CMS missionaries taught their students languages in a logical progression. Nevertheless, given the overall tone of the missionary's comments about the Wagogo, an element of racism and paternalism is clearly part of the picture.

missionaries working in Gare in the West Usambara mountains explained that "[i]t was planned to teach the elementary subjects in the language of the District--Kishambala--and later to also use Kiswahili as a medium after proficiency in [the students'] own mother-tongue is obtained."[75] This educational principle surfaced quite often in the mission schools, and it hints at another pattern which emerges from the records of the period.

The Imperial Government began offering rewards to schools demonstrating progress in German teaching in 1902. As such, all schools, mission and government, began reporting on whether or not they taught German. Most mission schools, including the German ones, taught German only to their most advanced pupils, when it was taught at all. These did not amount to very many students. In a typical example, the Leipzig Lutherans claimed in 1906 that in the year prior they had "educated" 4511 students. Out of those, 12 students attended German lessons.[76] This example is instructive for several reasons. First, it illustrates the very low number of students learning German despite the monetary incentive being offered by the Government. Secondly, a considerable amount of time had elapsed since 1902, and there should have been more progress if missions had been serious about the issue. Thirdly, the fact that this mission was German, and thus had the most incentive to promote their own national language, further amplifies the idea that, in general, the missions were not very dedicated to this aspect of language policy. German Protestant missionaries in southeastern Tanzania summed up the issue well:

---

[75] *Annual Report, 1901-1902*, p. 39; Translation of *Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1904-1905*, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, p. 38.

[76] *Annual Report, 1905-1906*, p. 43.

> We think that German can only be taught successfully when pupils understand the structure of their own language (grammar and syntax). Otherwise they will speak broken German or just toss around bits and pieces of German, which will be damaging to the Blacks, who are prone to arrogance.[77]

In short, there seemed to be what amounted to a hierarchy of languages in place in German East Africa. Local languages occupied the bottom rung of the ladder, followed by Kiswahili somewhere in the middle. At the top was German, along with other European languages such as English. According to this structure, only the most intelligent and best educated Africans could learn the European languages. What did this hierarchy mean in terms of colonialism in Tanganyika?

The hierarchy reflected contradictory currents of thought among German colonialists during these years. Many Germans believed that it was necessary to spread their language as a hedge against the insidious spread of English throughout East Africa. In other words, there was a nationalistic current that influenced language policy. On the other hand though, many Germans feared that by sharing their language with Africans, they would also provide them with a tool with which to fight colonialism.[78] Germans were also reluctant to let Tanganyikans concentrate on any language but Kiswahili, because they so desperately needed junior administrators. To create the required work force, they needed assistance from the missions.

---

[77] Ibid., p. 36. See also Tanzania National Archives, G9/76, IX/B/13, Vol. 1, p. 36, 28 January 1902, letter from Kilossa District Officer Lambrecht to Governor. "The mission leaders [say] that their students are not far enough along in the reading and writing of Kiswahili to successfully begin teaching in German." As in note 74 above, there is some truth to the idea that learning the structure of one's own language facilitates the learning of new one. This does not rule out racism as a factor in German colonial language policy and practice.

[78] Pike, pp. 220-21.

The language hierarchy that emerged in mission school teaching reflected missionary beliefs about the capacity of indigenous languages for converting Africans. In some cases, the language hierarchy also reflected the missionaries' nationalist chauvinism. In addition, it reflected missionary beliefs about the ability of Africans to learn other languages. There may be some truth to the idea that an individual can more easily learn a foreign language after they have achieved a sophisticated understanding of their own language. Nevertheless, it is also true that missionaries used African "inability" to learn German to explain why it was not taught to the extent desired by the Germans. Thus, the language hierarchy reflected the contradictory beliefs of the missionaries and the colonialists on the issue of German usage in the colony.

This language hierarchy corresponded to colonial Tanganyika's race hierarchy. The non-Swahili Africans of the interior, and the missionaries who were trying to "enlighten" them, spoke the local languages. Kiswahili represented the middle ground where educated non-Swahili Africans, Arabs, Swahili, Indians, and Europeans could converse for the conduct of a wide variety of affairs, including conversion. These groups did not converse on "equal" terms, but in the Kiswahili milieu, all necessary business could be conducted among diverse groups. Finally, the German language (and other European languages) represented the European rulers and the few erudite Africans who managed to reach the upper levels of schooling in the German education system or the mission schools. While there was some movement between the levels of the hierarchy, it usually occurred between the local languages and Kiswahili, and not between Kiswahili and German.

Another problem in German language policy which affected the missions was that
of scarce resources. While official German policy encouraged the teaching of German to
as many Africans as possible, for the mission schools this was often an impractical
demand. They usually conducted their business with a skeleton staff made up of
European missionaries and African converts. They were often strapped for financial
resources. As the Bagamoyo District Officer reported in 1903, a common reason given
for not teaching German was that the missionaries had no textbooks to teach with, and
that "the mission is too poor to afford them by their own means." The District Officer
asked for some books to be sent to the mission *gratis* "in the interest of furthering the
German language," and the Imperial Government responded by sending five books.[79]
Moreover, outside of the German missions, most missionaries did not speak the
language. In addition, the priority task of all missionaries was conversion. Thus, the
missionaries were averse to tasks that would drain their resources, but which would not
directly contribute to the mission operation. Knowing that Kiswahili was the language of
administration, most had no reason to teach German. Up to this time, most missions had
concentrated on educating their converts to perform mission duties--primarily teaching
and evangelizing other Africans. They began to adjust their curricula to accommodate
their commitment to education for administration in 1902. Therefore, for many reasons,
the imposition of a German teaching requirement was viewed by most mission schools as

[79] Tanzania National Archives, G9/76, IX/B/13, Vol. 1, 15 June 1903, p. 1; On the other hand, some
missionaries noted that they were teaching their more advanced students German (Lutherans) or English
(UMCA) so that would have more access to religious texts. See S. von Sicard, *The Lutheran Church on the
Coast of Tanzania 1887-1914* (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1970), pp. 181, 129; Tanzania National Archives, G9/54,
April 21st, 1897.

something to be done if there was extra time, manpower and money to do it. The meager incentive offered by the Imperial Government for achievements in teaching German (300 rupees per year per school) was probably not enough to stir the missionaries into serious action.[80] Nevertheless, quite a few of the missions requested and received the bonuses from the Imperial Government throughout the period under examination, and for the rest of German colonial rule.[81] They probably made minimal efforts toward this end partly to receive the bonuses, and partly to show the Imperial Government that they were willing to cooperate, at least to a limited extent, to help them achieve their goal of a cheap, educated work force, as long as the government made the hiring of Christians, as opposed to Muslims, a priority.

The Government Schools and Language

It is not surprising that the government schools seemed to adhere more consistently to colonial language policy than did the mission schools. After all, they received all of their funding and support from the Imperial Government, which was in turn supported by the *Reichstag* in Germany. Yet the government schools had their own complex problems with regard to language as well. Again, colonial documents from the period are useful in explaining how the government schools dealt with the intersection of language, race, and policy.

---

[80] Koponen, *Development,* p. 511-12.

[81] Some of the mission schools also received bonuses for the promotion of Kiswahili. This will be discussed in a later section. See also footnote 54.

By 1905 the Imperial Government had established an extensive system of coastal "main" schools which were fed by numerous "hinterland" schools.[82] Since the express purpose of the government schools was the training of future junior administrators to replace higher-salaried Europeans, Indians, Swahili and Arabs, Kiswahili and German language instruction was included in their curricula from the outset. Local languages were not used in the government schools. It can be argued that the teaching of Kiswahili and German formed the cornerstone of government school instruction.

Each school was led by a German headmaster, who doubled as a teacher. There were usually few other German nationals on the teaching staff, the remainder of the positions being filled by "native assistants" or "native teachers," who were subordinate to the German teacher.[83] For example, in 1905 at the oldest government school, Tanga, there were three German teachers and seven African assistants. There were 380 pupils in attendance for the year, sixteen of whom were employed after graduation in various government jobs as clerks, customs officers, teachers, etc. The Annual Reports of these years point out, without exception, the urgent need for more German national teachers, because "[a] higher level of education can only be achieved by the appointment of more German teachers." Furthermore, it was argued that "[a] native teacher, even a well-trained one, cannot teach an upper class."[84] Not surprisingly, the government school personnel structure was reflective of the colonial society of which it was a part, with the Germans at the top of the hierarchy, Indians, Arabs, and Swahili in the middle, and non-

---

[82] A two-year secondary school for advanced students was opened at Tanga in 1905 (in addition to the primary school already there since 1892).

Swahili Africans at the bottom, but filling most of the positions and doing most of the work.

Although German was taught in all government schools, it was secondary to Kiswahili for the majority of students. The Annual Report for 1902-1903 includes the class schedule for the Bagamoyo school, which indicates that German teaching was not given as much time as Kiswahili until students reached the first, or upper level, class. As Figure 1 below indicates, lower level students did not learn German. However, upper level students spent more time learning German than Kiswahili.

Table 2-1 - Hours of Language Instruction per Class--Bagamoyo School 1902-1903

	1st Class	2nd Class	3rd Class	4th Class	Indian Class
Kiswahili	3	17	14	10	6
German	11	0	0	0	0

Source: *Annual Report, 1902-1903*, p. 13.[a]

Other notes throughout the reports for these years indicate the same pattern: German was only being seriously taught to senior students.

It would appear that the educational philosophy employed by the government schools sought to ensure that the students could communicate well in Kiswahili before allowing them to learn German. This makes sense in light of the "evolutionary" thinking about language that was demonstrated in the previous section--that European languages

---

[83] There were also some Indian and Goan teachers who taught the separate Indian classes for the children of the Indian merchants and financiers. In schools where there was an Indian teacher, African teachers and assistants were subordinate to him.

[84] Translation of *Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1903-1904*, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, p. 28.

[a] See also data from Bagamoyo School from 1896-1897 in Tanzania National Archives, G9/65, Vol. 1, pp. 84-5, which shows the same basic pattern.

should only be taught once the African had first mastered his or her local language, followed by a mastery of Kiswahili. It also corresponds to the emphasis placed by the Germans on Kiswahili as the language of colonial administration. Beyond these conclusions however, the records yield a murky picture of what was actually occurring in the government schools with regard to the German language. The Annual Reports uniformly asserted that progress was being made in German language instruction, but always qualified that assertion with another claiming that progress was slow because of a dearth of German teachers, the intellectual slowness of the students, or a lack of appropriate teaching aids such as primers and grammars. In short, throughout the records much effort is expended in explaining the progress of German instruction. This exposes an apparent contradiction in the historical record. There is little question that by this point in the German colonial period, Kiswahili was the most important language in the colony. Yet there is a curious lack of references to Kiswahili instruction and usage in the Annual Reports. It is buried in all the discussion of German instruction. How is this to be explained?

Perhaps the answer to that question has to do with the audience to which the Annual Reports were directed--the German government at home. The purse strings for education, and every other colonial activity, were held by the *Reichstag* in Berlin. According to various scholars, there was considerable pressure placed on the Imperial Government by Berlin to give more emphasis to German teaching. The pressure originated from several sources--nationalists in Berlin, German settlers within the colony, colonialists who feared the spread of the English language, and some German

missionaries.[85] This tide culminated in the creation of the *Fond zur Verbreitung der Deutschen Sprache* (Fund for Promoting the German Language) in 1902, to be awarded by the colonial government to schools that showed "especially good effort" in teaching German.[86]

The colonial government interpreted the phrase "especially good effort" very broadly. To comply with the *Reichstag's* objective of spreading *Deutschtum* (German culture and language) in East Africa, the government allocated funds to those schools that met certain standards of German teaching. However, these standards were subjectively determined, with District Officers making on-the-spot decisions about whether or not to recommend the mission and government schools in their districts for the reward based on rather cursory visits to the schools. Often, rewards were granted to schools just because the children could sing a song, or count from one to ten, in German. However, what is most interesting about these rewards is that they were very often given to schools that promoted Kiswahili. Moreover, it is clear that the government in Dar es Salaam made a conscious decision to allocate money based on progress in Kiswahili.

For the best examples of the government's promotion of Kiswahili under the auspices of the *Fond*, we must return for a moment to the mission schools. In February 1902 the District Officer in Neu-Langenburg (now Tukuyu at the northern end of Lake Nyasa) wrote to the Governor's office and said that "[t]he district office has been...up to

---

[85] See Pike, pp. 220-24; Koponen, *Development*, pp. 510-11; Wright, "Local Roots," pp. 626-27.

[86] Tanzania National Archives, G9/76, IX/B/13, Vol. 1, p. 36.

this point, unsuccessful in fostering lessons in Swahili, which are the priority and most

desired." He continues, saying,

> As desirable as the spread of German is, first it should be ensured that Swahili attains its full potential throughout the protectorate. I would therefore suggest that schools in the areas where Swahili has not yet adequately spread through the populace, upon applications to the appropriate district chief, should receive a yearly premium of 50-100 rupees from the Treasury for the teaching of adequate Swahili lessons. For areas in which Swahili has already been spread adequately among the colored populace, a premium for the spread of German is applicable.[87]

Unfortunately, there was no immediate response to this correspondence in the record.

However, three years later, in June 1905, a letter from the Governor's office to all district

offices and military posts revisits the issue:

> Because I believe the fostering of Kiswahili to be of the greatest importance, and because the acquisition of Kiswahili is an extraordinarily useful foundation for instruction in German, for those schools whose teaching plans include German language instruction as well as good efforts in Kiswahili, I will give premiums within the framework of the available funds. [88]

There is more evidence in the records that District Officers may have manipulated the

awarding of funds for German teaching to accommodate schools that were trying to teach

Kiswahili. They usually described the decision in terms of Kiswahili being a means to

learning German. Again, we see the language hierarchy being used to explain why

German is not being taught to the desired extent. The point is that the colonialists in

German East Africa, who daily confronted the reality of administering this huge territory,

were well aware of the practical need to emphasize Kiswahili, not German, as the

primary language of the colony. To keep in the good graces of the German government in

Berlin however, the Imperial Government made at least minimal efforts to comply with

---

[87] Ibid., p. 50.

[88] Ibid., pp. 79-81.

metropolitan wishes. The Annual Reports reflect this underlying conflict between the nationalist objectives of the distant *Reichstag* and the everyday reality of running German East Africa on scarce financial and human (European) resources.

What was this reality? The intersection of the policy-driven curriculum and the European-dominated school staffs produced the same language and race hierarchy that characterized the mission schools. This idea is echoed and amplified in a quote from the "Schools and Missions" section of the Annual Report of 1902-1903:

> It must be stressed that the German language is very difficult for the native Blacks, so some years will pass before the white clerks are replaced by pupils from schools. For the moment the government and the local authorities use the services of the Indians and Goans, who with their knowledge of English have quickly advanced in the German language and can be employed as clerks.[89]

There is certainly a very practical reason to explain why Indians more easily learned German than Africans--they had been British subjects before they came to Tanganyika. However, this quotation also clearly links language ability with race. An additional critical factor also emerges from this quotation. The government's overriding concern for the education of a cheap labor force is ubiquitous in the records, as this remark exemplifies: "Upper class students [are] being trained to replace the highly-paid Indians and Goans who currently must be employed due to lack of qualified natives."[90] Thus, a third factor in the hierarchy was economics: to reduce the cost of running the colony, the Germans needed quickly to educate an African work force that would be able to communicate with the German rulers. Yet the process of teaching German to African students was not yielding the desired results. It should be noted that the basis for the

---

[89] *Annual Report, 1902-1903*, p. 17.

[90] Ibid.

colonial system was, at its most fundamental level, economics. In other words, the economic system of exploiting African labor and resources for European benefit both fostered, and was fostered by, the race hierarchy. They were mutually supportive. The language hierarchy was a reflection of the stratification of Tanganyikan society on economic and racial terms.

It is unlikely that the colonialists ever seriously believed that German instruction would yield positive results. For example, in 1905 the first issue of a new Kiswahili newspaper, *Kiongozi*, was published by the Tanga school. It was written for Africans, by Africans, and in an African language. It soon gained a large following. If the Germans meant business on the issue of promoting German, would they have allowed the publication of a newspaper which could only enhance the further spread of Kiswahili? Again, Tanganyikan reality was quite different from perceptions back in Berlin. The Annual Reports from 1901 to 1905 reflect this reality as well as the attempt to paint a different picture for the audience back home.

One last contradiction must be discussed with specific reference to the government schools. Various entities in German East Africa feared the use of Kiswahili because of its close connections to Islam. Moreover, the six coastal "main" schools were situated in the historical heart of Islamic culture in Tanganyika. Many of the attendees were the sons of *maakida, maliwali,* and *majumbe,* who were mainly Muslims. But despite these drawbacks, most colonialists agreed that Kiswahili was vital to the continued functioning of the colony. Therefore, a concerted effort was made by the government schools to divest Kiswahili of its "Arabness," or to "de-Islamize" it,

through the replacement of Arabic script in government correspondence and schoolwork with Latin script. This effort was led by a German professor of linguistics, Carl Meinhof. Furthermore, "[Meinhof] suggested that the government systematically purge the Swahili language of its 'superfluous' Arabic loan words and replace them with German terms."[91] Thus, in order to quell the objections to Kiswahili, the colonialists undertook to make Kiswahili more "European" and less threatening. This example again reflects how practical reality often dictated change in policy, or the manipulation of policy to make it into something that most parties could live with.

Of course none of these colonial maneuverings included input from those most affected--the Tanganyikans. An inclusion of Africans in determining colonial language policy was never a part of the German colonial way. Nevertheless, it would be careless to assume that an African population of at least seven million in German East Africa did not somehow affect language policy and practice. After all, despite their conspicuous absence from the colonial records, it was ultimately the African students, teachers, missionaries, and administrators who made policies work or not work. There was a dialectic between language policy and language practice at work in colonial Tanganyika. Africans must have played a critical part in it. How were Africans affected by language issues? How did Africans affect language usage in the colony? What decisions did they make about language usage, and how did they make those decisions? We will take up these questions in the next chapter.

---

[91] Pike, p. 224. See also *Annual Report, 1905-1906*, p.21.

CHAPTER 3
TRADE, RELIGION, ADMINISTRATION, AND RESISTANCE: AFRICANS AND LANGUAGE IN TANGANYIKA, 1850-1907

Yote tutayafuate,	We'll follow all your orders
hatuna kutatata,	We can't create problems,
kulla neno mwalipata,	You'll get everything you want,
sina kuwatilia	I don't have to go into that here
Mlete na walimu,	Bring us the teachers,
kizungu tutaalamu,	We'll learn German,
tapate jua masimu	We'll learn your mysteries
na hesabu yote pia	And (German) mathematics as well.
Mazungumzo mwataka,	You want entertainment
na raia kupitika,	At the expense of your subjects,
wapate kufurahika	You'll get your pleasure,
ndio haya nawambia.	I'll tell you this.[1]

As the above poem demonstrates, Africans subject to German colonialism

thought in very clear terms about how language affected them and their future. The

above poem raises some intriguing questions, and offers evidence for interpretation. For

example, the author is unknown. Was he or she a coastal or a non-coastal Tanganyikan?

Is the poem making an overt reference to resistance? Or is it playing on the German fear,

which they themselves acknowledged, that by teaching Africans a European language

---

[1] Carl Velten, *Prosa und Poesie der Swahili* (Berlin, 1907) pp. 367-70. Quoted and translated in Charles Pike, "History and Imagination: Swahili Literature and Resistance to German Language Imperialism in Tanzania, 1885-1910," in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 19, 2, (1986), p. 216. Pike explains, "Velten received this unsigned poem in answer to an advertisement he had placed in a Swahili circular letter in 1895 asking for riddles, proverbs, narratives and poems. The poem was entitled, 'Shairi kwa Wazungu' (A Poem for Europeans). Velten's only comment was that 'the poem belonged to a dissatisfied element which was unable to accept European domination.' The Swahili phrase translated here as 'We'll learn your mysteries' literally means 'telephone-like things.'"

they would also provide them the means of overthrowing colonialism? How did traditional Swahili literary conventions serve as vehicles for expressing discontent with colonialism? The poem gives us a sense that the author was quite aware of the nature of colonialism in Tanganyika. He or she was not only literate, but familiar with the Swahili literary tradition. The reference to learning German might suggest that the author lived in one of the coastal towns where a government school had been established. This individual clearly recognized his or her place in the colonial structure to be that of a subject. Yet the author also hinted that by learning German and German "mysteries," the subject peoples would one day challenge their overlords on their own terms. The writer may not personally have been involved in colonial administration, but he or she certainly understood the potential for educated Tanganyikans to dispute the boundaries placed around them by German colonialists while also working within them.

This chapter provides a history of the peoples of Tanganyika using their connections to the languages discussed thus far--Kiswahili and German--as a vehicle. These were certainly not the only important languages in Tanganyika. They were, however, the two major languages which came to play a substantial role in the lives of many Africans for the first time during the German colonial period. To many, both of these languages were foreign before German colonialism. This chapter deals specifically with the role of Africans in the history of Kiswahili before and during colonialism--from before the Scramble in the 1880's up to the Maji Maji Rebellion in 1905. Although there is some overlap with Chapter One, the aim of this chapter is to demonstrate that although the Germans imposed a language policy which fostered the further spread of

Kiswahili, Africans made practical decisions about language usage well before the appearance of colonialism, as well as during the colonial period. This chapter suggests that there was some continuity in African language practices despite a rapidly changing environment during the 1800s and early 1900s.

The writing of such a history is no small task. Most of the available sources were written by Europeans, and thus reflect Eurocentric views on Africans and their language practices. In the evidence examined for this study, "unadulterated" African voices-- voices which were not filtered through the European colonialist's world-view--were lacking. Yet it was unacceptable to write a history of German colonial language policy and not to include the pivotal actors--the Tanganyikans. Close examination and interpretation of primary colonial sources and secondary historical sources can tell us what European missionaries and colonialists thought about Africans. From these sources, we can deductively reconstruct a history which suggests the responses and initiatives taken by the indigenous peoples of Tanganyika in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, specifically with regard to language usage. The few available biographical and autobiographical texts of Tanganyikans during this period serve as valuable resources in writing this history, for they offer the best solution to the problem of the missing African voices in the European historical record.

African interests during this period were just as diverse as those of the Europeans, and their responses just as varied. For example, Africans in different socio-economic strata, such as the enslaved and the administrators, acquired and used language differently. Geography and the presence of mission stations (or lack thereof) also played

a role in how Tanganyikans used various languages. In addition, men and women generally had different experiences with learning languages. This is an important point, for if the reconstruction of the history of Africans and language in this context is difficult, the problems are compounded when one attempts to include the role of Tanganyikan women within the overall narrative. Nevertheless, a few sources allow us to peek into the history of Tanganyikan men and women and to sketch a very simple picture of how they figured into the language situation in this place and time. These sources demonstrate that Africans increasingly used Kiswahili because it served as a means of linking local interests with the wider world, both in pre-colonial and colonial times.

Africans, Trade, and Language Usage

As was shown earlier, the spread of Kiswahili in Tanganyika was inextricably linked with intensification of trade between the interior of the Tanganyikan mainland and the Indian Ocean coast during the nineteenth century. Several primary sources give clues to the Swahili "character" of the caravans: the porters were called *wapagazi* (Kiswahili for "porter"), and the leaders and guides (*kiongozi*) of the caravans were coastal Swahili. The caravans were under the control of wealthy coastal Swahili and Arab traders by mid-century, and their influence must have been felt by the *wapagazi,* many of whom were aspiring to become *waungwana*, or "gentlemen" of the urban Swahili, Islamic culture. The *wapagazi* came from many different African groups, but were mostly Wanyamwezi,

Wasukuma and coastal *vibarua* slaves.[2] According to Glassman, Nyamwezi porters often spent months at a time on the coast waiting for caravans to return inland. To survive in the coastal Swahili towns, they must have had at least a minimal command of Kiswahili. In addition, they obviously used Kiswahili along the routes.[3] Richard Burton makes scattered references to Kiswahili words and phrases which he heard on the caravan. He even includes in his account the Kiswahili text of a song sung by the porters, sarcastically composed in his honor.[4] Clearly, Africans communicated in Kiswahili amongst themselves for the purposes of trade with the coast before the Europeans arrived in numbers. They also used Kiswahili to organize themselves into communities, both on the caravan and in the towns.

Early evidence of the importance of Kiswahili to Tanganyikans is provided by the first missionaries and explorers to the region, such as Krapf, Rebmann, Steere, and Burton. For example, Bwana Kheri, a Swahili caravan leader, was a talented and knowledgeable guide who led Rebmann from the coast to Kilimanjaro in 1848. Another Swahili trader, Sadi, performed the same function in 1871, acting as intermediary

---

[2] S.C. Lamden, "Some Aspects of Porterage in East Africa," *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 61, September 1963, p. 155; Glassman, pp. 60-2. *Vibarua* slaves were hired out by their masters to employers who paid for their labor by the day.

[3] Edward Steere, *Collections for a Handbook of the Nyamwezi Language, as Spoken at Unyanyembe* (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1885), p. 5.

[4] Sir Richard F. Burton, *The Lake Regions of Central Africa, Vol. 1* (London: 1860; repr., New York: Horizon Press, 1961), p. 362. The song's lyrics, according to Burton, were as follows: "'Muzungu mbaya' (the wicked white man) goes from the shore, *Puti! Puti!* (I can only translate it by 'grub! grub!') We will follow 'Muzungu mbaya.' *Puti! Puti!* As long as he gives us good food! *Puti! Puti!* We will traverse the hill and the stream, *Puti! Puti!* With the caravan of this great *mundewa* (merchant). *Puti! Puti!*"

between Rindi of Moshi and the CMS station at Freretown near Mombasa.[5] In 1857,

Burton remarked that Kiswahili was spoken fluently by the peoples of Uzagara and

Ugogo in the coastal hinterland.[6] John Iliffe points out that "[i]mportant chiefs found

[Kiswahili] indispensable," noting that Rindi of Moshi and Semboja of Shambaai were

fluent Kiswahili speakers. In addition, Merere of Usangu in the southern highlands

employed a Swahili secretary.[7] Of course, Mirambo also spoke Kiswahili. These

examples show that while Kiswahili was a language of trade, it also served in a

diplomatic role. It was used by diverse groups of Africans to carry out their political

affairs with coastal Arabs and Swahili. It perhaps served a similar function amongst

groups of the interior as well.

The European texts also provide us with a glimpse of women and language

through the caravans. By the mid-1800s women and children, often accompanying

husbands and fathers, were members of the Nyamwezi caravans.[8] Jerome Becker, who

traveled through Tanganyika on his way to Karema on Lake Nyanza in 1880, reported on

the importance of women to the caravan. He noted that they took care of cooking and

other household chores. More importantly though, they also made contacts with local

---

[5]Kathleen M. Stahl, *History of the Chagga People of Kilimanjaro* (London: Mouton & Co., 1964), pp. 35, 251.; James B. Wolf, ed., *The Central African Diaries of Walter Hutley 1877 to 1881* (Boston: Boston University, 1976); Norman R. Bennett, *From Zanzibar to Ujiji* (Boston: Boston University, 1969).

[6] Burton, pp. 234, 307; John Iliffe, *A Modern History of Tanganyika* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p. 79.

[7] Ibid.

[8] John Gray describes the Nyamwezi caravans as "wholesale temporary migration," since if the women and children did not accompany the men on the caravans, they might be attacked by hostile neighbors and slave raiders. John Gray, "Trading Expeditions from the Coast to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Before 1857," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 49, 1957, p. 245.

populations along the route. They often traveled ahead of the main caravan, searching for supplies and information. Becker realized their importance when he wrote, "You can be certain that a traveler who returns with a rich harvest of information and of studies of customs owes most of them to the women of his escort."[9] This skill at acquiring information shows that the women also had a command of the *lingua franca*, Kiswahili, and perhaps of some other regional languages such as Kinyamwezi. In addition, as Koponen notes, village women were involved in the sale of provisions to caravans passing through their areas.[10] These women may also have been at least nominal Kiswahili-speakers. This history adds depth to the typical image of women in East African pre-colonial history--that they were left behind to cultivate crops in the villages while the men went off on caravans. In fact, some women were quite involved in the trading networks which were so important in the history of East Africa. Their involvement in trade and the caravans must have exposed many of them to Kiswahili and other new languages. On the other hand, in 1890 Oscar Baumann reported that "the use of Kiswahili is very widespread in this area [Usambara] and almost all the men can speak it, even if only imperfectly, and now it is probably only women who do not understand the language of the coast."[11] There appears to have been quite a disparity in language usage between the women of the Usambara region and the women of the central trading

---

[9] Johannes Fabian, *Language on the Road: Notes on Swahili in two Nineteenth Century Travelogues* (Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1984), p. 32. Burton and Gleerup also remarked on the presence of women in the caravans. Burton, p. 362; Per Hassing and Norman Bennett, "A Journey Across Tanganyika in 1886," in *Tanganyika Notes and* Records, 58 & 59, March and September 1962, p. 141.

[10] Juhani Koponen, *People and Production in Late Pre-Colonial Tanzania* (Jyvaskyla: Gummerus Kirjapaino Oy, 1988), p. 287.

[11] Baumann, *Usambara and its Neighboring* Regions, transl. M.A. Godfredsen, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, p. 79.

region. It is unlikely that women who were far from the trading routes learned Kiswahili before the arrival of the missionaries.[12]

Kiswahili was only one among many languages in use on the Tanganyika mainland for trade purposes. For example, Kiyao was the trade language of the southern trading route, and Kinyamwezi was spoken on the western plateau. One could argue that by the 1880's Kiswahili was still only spoken by a relatively small number of Tanganyikans who were connected to specific interest groups--the traders, porters, caravanners, and diplomats. In addition, some Africans also learned Kiswahili through the spread of Islam.

Africans, Islam, and Language Usage

Muslim proselytization also helped to spread Kiswahili to the interior lands of Tanganyika. Edward Alpers argues that the spread of Islam occurred in two phases--pre-colonial and colonial. Here we are concerned with the pre-colonial period. The extensive

---

[12] I have been unable to find much evidence on women and language in trade in Tanganyika in pre-colonial times. However, Ali Mazrui and Alamin Mazrui address this issue in a comparative perspective. They write, "On the question of language and gender specifically, the West African experience may be somewhat different from that of East Africa. The West African phenomenon of market women, in particular, may have served as a counter-balance to the male-oriented economic processes that contribute to the acquisition of a lingua franca, like Hausa. Of course there are market women too in East Africa, but the phenomenon tends to be much smaller in scale and, geographically, much more localized in comparison with the situation in West Africa. West African 'market women' constitute an economically formidable force, and they traverse large distances. . . in search of goods and markets. The political economy of West Africa, therefore, may have created a greater gender balance with respect to the acquisition of Hausa, for example, than is the situation in East Africa with respect to Kiswahili." Thus the Shambaa women may well have been involved with localized trade, but not with long-distance caravan trading as were the Nyamwezi women. As such, the Shambaa women may not have had access to Kiswahili, which was the long-distance trading *lingua franca.* Ali Mazrui and Alamin Mazrui, *Swahili State and Society: the Political Economy of an African Language* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1995), pp. 67-8.

system of coastal Muslim administrators which the Germans later established was not yet

a factor. As Alpers explains,

> ... the external agents of Islamic proselytization were, successively, Swahili and Arab
> traders who had established firm commercial relations with the Yao and Makua chiefs of
> the hinterland; Muslim *waalimu* [teachers] who were resident in the towns of those chiefs;
> [and] itinerant Muslim missionaries, who appear to have been especially active in
> southern Tanzania and along the eastern shore of Lake Nyasa . . . Of these, the most
> important seem to have been the teachers and the preachers, whose specific charge it was
> to proselytise their faith by persuasion, rather than the traders . . . who were there to be
> emulated, but whose worldly concerns were more completely secular.[13]

The early presence of Muslim *waalimu* and their influence on "elites" in the interior is

again confirmed by Europeans. For example, in 1872 Livingstone was impressed that

Kilanga bin Ilonga, *Mweniwungu* (chief) of Ubungu in southwestern Tanganyika, was a

Muslim at a time when there was no evidence of Muslim proselytization in the region.

He wrote in his diary,

> One only of all the native chiefs, [*Mweniwungu*], has sent his children to Zanzibar to be
> taught to read and write the Koran; and he is said to possess an unusual admiration of
> such civilization as he has seen among the Arabs.[14]

Arabs had apparently been living in Ubungu since 1857, and Kilanga even "gave the

Arabs a quarter inside the village near his homestead because of his friendship for them.

The Arabs remained there...and built their mosque there."[15] It is likely that Kilanga

learned to speak Kiswahili, and it is certain that his children, one of whom was female,

learned it when they were on Zanzibar. Thus the spread of Kiswahili before the arrival of

---

[13] Edward A. Alpers, "Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa: the Matrilineal People of the Southern Interior," in *The Historical Study of African Religion*, T. O. Ranger and I. N. Kimambo, eds. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 193.

[14] Quoted in Aylward Shorter, "The Rise and Decline of Bungu Power," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 73, 1974, p. 3.

[15] Ibid., p. 4. This quote is from a tape-recorded Kiswahili text given to Shorter by Mwene Karolo Ilonga II Bin Sasawata in October 1965.

large numbers of Europeans was connected not just to trade, but also to the spread of Islam.

It is unclear, however, just how much the religion spread among non-elites outside of the coastal towns. There were certainly some regions, such as Shambaai, where a substantial Muslim presence existed by the 1870's.[16] But there does not seem to be enough evidence to say that Islam, independent of trade, made a major impact on the learning of Kiswahili by most non-elites of the interior.

Africans, Slavery, and Language Usage

One particular non-elite, non-trader group did begin to speak Kiswahili due to the effects of the East African trading system, and secondarily, through Islam. These were the thousands of Africans taken from areas as distant as Mozambique, Malawi, and Zambia by African slave traders. They were captured and taken to the coast and Zanzibar, where they were sold to coastal Arab and Swahili merchants to work the Arab-owned clove plantations. The trade peaked in the early 1870's, with between 16, 800 and 20, 600 enslaved Africans being shipped from Kilwa to Zanzibar per year.[17] The sea-trade was prohibited in 1873, and the overland trade in 1876. However, trading continued and even escalated in the late 1870's, with slaves being sent to the coastal mainland plantations instead of Zanzibar, or remaining with Arab or African settlements and plantations in the interior. They also became domestic servants in African and Arab

---

[16] Iliffe, *Modern History*, p. 78.

[17] Koponen, *People and Production*, p. 85.

households.[18] Forced to live and work in unfamiliar environments, they learned new

languages. Given the preponderance of slaves who worked for Arabs or Swahili either

on the coast or in inland settlements, it is certain many of them learned to speak

Kiswahili. Jonathon Glassman confirms this in *Feasts and Riot.* He argues that the

slaves attempted to redefine themselves and claim a legitimate place in coastal society in

the face of increasingly harsh plantation slavery. He writes,

> . . . [i]t is true that slaves for the most part learned to speak Swahili, worship the God of
> Islam, and call the coast their home. But the Swahili they spoke had its own distinctive
> accents, their modes of worship defied important aspects of patrician authority, and the
> homes they built for themselves were often not what their masters had intended. Nor did
> acceptance of the language of Shirazi paternalism preclude slaves' ability to enunciate a
> total break with their masters . . .[19]

While it is true that Glassman is using "language" in the last sentence to represent a

cultural construct, it also has applicability to how Kiswahili was employed by the

enslaved. In short, learning to speak Kiswahili was both a means of surviving and a

means of resisting the boundaries established by the dominant group.

The story of Rashid bin Hassani (born Kibuli bin Mchubiri) presents a

personalized insight into the issue of language acquisition and slavery. Born in a village

in what is now northern Zambia, he was captured during an Ngoni raid when he was

twelve.[20] He was eventually sold to a Yao caravan, then was taken to Kilwa and sold to

an Arab who lived on Zanzibar. Upon arrival at Zanzibar, he was again sold, this time to

---

[18] Ibid., pp. 92-3; 98.

[19] Jonathon Glassman, *Feasts and Riot: Revelry, Rebellion, and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili
Coast, 1856*-1888 (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995), p. 84. *Shirazi* is defined by Glassman as "a status
appellation commonly claimed by Swahili-speaking patricians in the towns of the northern Mrima." He also
notes that the term refers to Swahili culture on the northern Mrima. See p. xvi.

[20] Margery Perham, *Ten Africans* (London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1936), p. 82. No specific date is
provided for this event, but it was probably in the 1880's.

Bibi Zem-Zem, the sister of the Sultan of Zanzibar Barghash bin Said. Describing the

scene of his sale to Bibi Zem-Zem, he states,

> Perhaps twenty of us were picked out, taken to her house and lined up. Here I was
> terrified and thought, 'Here I shall be killed and eaten.' Out came an enormously fat
> woman with gold ear-rings and gold nose-rings. I thought, 'She is as fat as that from
> eating men.' I did not then know much Swahili but she said, 'Where are the slaves?' in a
> very high voice. She picked out ten...I was bought for 40 reales [60 rupees]...When the
> deal was completed she told a man to take us to her shamba.[21]

It is likely that Rashid learned a bit of Kiswahili before arriving on Zanzibar, since he

had spent some time with Yao traders. He was apparently able to understand something

of what Bibi Zem-Zem said. Nevertheless, his remark that "I did not know much

Swahili" provides evidence that the language had not been very important in his life prior

to this time. In other words, men and women who were enslaved in areas which had not

previously been exposed to Kiswahili (or other African languages) were often forced to

learn it once they were captured and removed from their homelands.

After Rashid was sold to Bibi Zem-Zem, a slave woman and her husband who

lived and worked on Bibi Zem-Zem's *shamba* adopted Rashid and raised him as their

son. He remained with them for three years and became a Muslim. He was circumcised,

taught to read the Koran, and changed his name. It is almost certain that he also learned

to speak Kiswahili during this time. He then became a porter, working primarily in

southern Kenya, and later an *askari* for the Sultan. He was freed upon Bibi Zem-Zem's

death. He eventually settled in northeast Tanganyika, working as a hunter and forest

guard for the Germans. He lived near Moshi, had several wives, and "lived like a

---

[21] Ibid., pp. 98-9.

Swahili."[22] In 1920, he turned down an offer from the first British colonial administrator in Moshi to be the *liwali*.

Rashid's life is an excellent example of how a non-elite, non-Arab, and non-Swahili African could become not only a Kiswahili-speaker, but could also assume the cultural attributes of a Swahili to the extent that he appeared to his Chagga neighbors and to some Europeans to be Swahili. In other words, he was "Swahilized." His life highlights the many ways in which Africans employed Kiswahili as a means to participate, either by force or voluntarily, in the larger economic and political landscape of colonial Tanganyika. Rashid was a slave, porter, *askari*, and low-level colonial administrator. He undoubtedly learned Kiswahili *before* he came in contact with the colonial system. While his story is just one example, it might speak for many other Africans who were forced by enslavement to learn new languages to protect and further their own interests, and even in some cases, to establish new identities.

It is now possible to give a broad description of the language picture in Tanganyika prior to the 1880's, and to show the diversity in language usage among Africans of different social, economic, and political strata. Kiswahili was entrenched along the coast and on Zanzibar, and was spoken as the preferred language by the enslaved, the townspeople, the *Shirazi*, and so on. In the immediate coastal hinterland (*mrima*), knowledge of Kiswahili was widespread, but was not the first language of most people. Further inland, those heavily involved in trade, such as the Wasukuma and Wanyamwezi, spoke Kiswahili. It was also used to conduct diplomacy in powerful

---

[22] Ibid., p. 116.

chiefdoms. Other Africans--besides traders, elites and Muslim converts--also learned the language well-enough, as Rashid did, to appear to observers as "Swahili." Some, such as the caravan women, also used the language to increase their access to the regional trading network and its concomitant economic benefits, but they must have represented a small number of women in Tanganyika at the time. Thus by the 1880's, when the Europeans arrived en masse, at least small numbers of Tanganyikans living in the interior, and operating in diverse social, political, and economic milieus, had been exposed to Kiswahili. Africans spoke it in areas as widely separated as Yaoland, Shambaai, Tabora, Ubungu, Ukaguru and the Lake Nyanza region. Yet the language was still largely confined to the trade routes and the coast until the 1880's.

Freed Africans, Missions and Language

When the European missionaries established themselves, many more ordinary Tanganyikans learned Kiswahili as well as other unfamiliar languages. This included those at the lowest level of Tanganyikan society, who like Rashid, had once been enslaved. Yet Rashid learned Kiswahili without the influence of Europeans, while working on Bibi Zem-Zem's *shamba*. Many other formerly enslaved Africans learned new languages when they joined mission communities upon being freed from slavery. They too were part of the changing language scene during this period of European expansion into the interior of Tanganyika.

Many missions in East Africa began their work by converting freed slaves. By the 1880's there were missions in most regions of Tanganyika. Most were in the interior, but

a few were established on the coast. Because the ties between formerly enslaved

Africans and their kin were often severed at the time of their capture, they were in some

respects more vulnerable to the teachings of the European missionaries. Children and

young adults were especially susceptible. The missions provided places where freed

slaves could form new communities, find work, be formally educated, and of course, be

converted.[23] These freedmen became part of the first generation of Western-educated

Africans in Tanganyika. Their contributions were indispensable to the European

missions, which were understaffed and expanding rapidly in the 1880's and 1890's.

They became teachers, translators, clergymen, and government employees. As the

missionaries realized, educated Africans were the key to evangelizing other Africans, and

thus the key to their success.[24] Language was a critical factor in mission education and in

the furtherance of mission goals.

In the first place, missionaries needed translators to assist them not only in

communicating with prospective converts, but also to help them to write religious

educational texts for the converts in African languages. For example, in the preface to

his Kinyamwezi dictionary, Bishop Steere of the UMCA explained that in order to

---

[23] N.J. Small, "UMCA: the Early Work in Education, 1876-1905," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 86 & 87, 1981, p. 35.

[24] Steere, p. 7. He writes, "Our interest in the language...is this, that we have in the Nyamwezi daily under our eyes, men of so important a tribe, whom if we could win to confidence and instruct in ever so small a degree, our teaching would be carried at once to the far-off interior, and a way prepared for the Mission stations we hope to plant there. Already we have had a visit from the sons of one of the petty Nyamwezi kings, who conversed with us as well as they could through the medium of Swahili, and seemed much interested in our work and objects. They promised to send down some boys for us to educate; and though they may well forget or be hindered from performing this promise, we had in our intercourse with them a glimpse at least of the great work which by the help of a knowledge of their language will be within our power."

properly learn Kinyamwezi, he "had to seek for [someone] who, without forgetting his own tongue, had learnt to speak Swahili well . . . ."[25] He eventually found such a man:

> I . . . obtained the help of a man called Juma, who as a slave and afterwards as a freed man had made many journeys to and from Unyanyembe. It was the dialect of this place that he professed to speak, and from him the notes here printed were derived. I could not get Juma to tell me what his native name had been; the only answer he would give was that native names were all bad. I made some attempt to write down a few short tales in Nyamwezi, but my teacher was as little used to dictating in his own language as I to writing in it.[26]

Like Rashid, Juma had learned Kinyamwezi and Kiswahili during his years of enslavement. But once he became a member of the mission community, his language skills were put to use in translating for the missionaries. The above passage demonstrates not only that ex-slaves like Juma were employed in the capacity of translators for the missionaries, but also the complexity of the relationship between converts and missionaries. For example, it shows Juma's disconnection from his past. In refusing to tell his "native" name to Steere, Juma also disavows his past as a non-Christian. It also shows the sometimes strained relationship between the literate European and the non-literate African. Whereas Juma is not used to dictating stories to be written down, Steere is similarly unaccustomed to writing in a language which had not previously been "formalized."

Ex-slaves in the missions served as both evangelizers and evangelized, as teachers and students. They are central to an understanding of the dynamics of language in late

---

[25] Steere was a Kiswahili-speaker, and thus could communicate with the African translator in Kiswahili while trying to compile a dictionary for another language, Kinyamwezi.

[26] Steere, p. 6. A Moravian missionary working in Unyiha (near the southwestern border of what is today Tanzania), Traugott Bachmann, also had a Nyiha helper named Nkasima. Nkasima helped to develop vernacular religious and elementary school materials for the mission schools, which would have required him to know Kinyiha and perhaps some German. See Wright, *German Missions*, p. 115.

pre-colonial and colonial Tanganyika. For example, the first UMCA converts were five

boys who had been freed from slavery on Zanzibar in 1864. Among them was John

Swedi, an Ngindo, who was ordained as a sub-deacon in 1870. In 1872 he was sent to

Magila in Usambara, where he was ordained as the first African deacon. He then went to

work at the Masasi station in Yao-land. In 1884, he went to Mkuzi mission station in

Usambara. There are numerous references to him in the Mkuzi mission diary. He

consistently delivered the Bondei-language addresses to congregations at Mkuzi in 1886

and 1887.[27] Moreover, both during his time at Magila and Mkuzi, he was left in charge

of the missions when the English priest-in-charge went traveling.[28]

Swedi must have spoken several languages--Kiswahili, Kibondei, Kiyao, and

English at least--and he used them to teach Christianity to his fellow Africans in his

various mission postings. As such, he was invaluable to the UMCA missionaries, who

trusted him enough to leave the mission in his care while they were away. This was quite

progressive in light of the racist and paternalistic ideas which were expressed, without

reserve, by other missionaries of the time, and even twenty years later:

> One really must have a lot of patience to teach these people. Their lack of knowledge and
> darkness are so immense. For example, some spend months learning only the vowels, and
> much longer to learn the syllables. Of course there are some who make faster progress.
> On the whole, in spite of their darkness and degradation, and considering their great
> disadvantages and hindrances, one must wonder that they make any progress at all. [29]

---

[27] Tanzania National Archives, Mkuzi mission diary.

[28] George Herbert Wilson, *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa* (Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971), .pp. 75, 77; Carl-Erik Sahlberg, *From Krapf to Rugambwa--a Church History of Tanzania* (Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1986), p. 41.

[29] Tanzania National Archives, G9/24, IX/A/5, Vol. II, 14 August 1904. This letter from an English CMS missionary to the Governor's office, describing mission work in Uzagara and Ugogo, was written in German. It is unclear which language the missionaries are trying to teach the Africans, but it was probably not German, since this letter only notes that Kigogo, Kimegi, and Kiswahili are taught in the area. Moreover, the CMS had always been reluctant to teach German. The CMS did not ordain African priests in Tanganyika until 1921, and they were paid less than English priests. See Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelists:*

This type of thought was simmering beneath the protestations of missionaries that Africans could only be converted by Africans themselves. As a result, very few Africans achieved the same amount of formal authority in the church as did John Swedi at this time.[30]

Many African converts became mission schoolteachers or evangelists after being freed from slavery. In essence, these Africans served in roles that paralleled the subordinate roles of the colonial administration. One such was Daniel Kasuku, who was freed by the Germans in the mid-1880's and incorporated into the German Lutheran mission at Kisarawe in the Dar es Salaam hinterland. As an Ndengereko from the region near the river Rufiji, halfway between Dar es Salaam and Kilwa, it is likely that he knew Kiswahili and possibly Kizaramo before arriving at Kisarawe. After being baptized there in 1896, Kasuku was sent to the station at Maneromango, further southwest from Dar es Salaam. He was considered by the missionaries to be a "born leader" who became a very successful, if overburdened, teacher at Maneromango school. Part of his success in winning over converts was undoubtedly that he could effectively communicate with them, possibly in both their local language, Kizaramo, and in Kiswahili. According to S. von Sicard, Kasuku's efforts were largely responsible for increasing the number of schoolchildren and people asking to be baptized at Maneromango.[31]

---

a Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982), p. 68, 80. See also Steere, p. 5 for his paternalistic view of "natives" and language.

[30] Others who did are Cecil Majaliwa, who became a UMCA deacon in 1886; and Kolumba Msigala, another UMCA missionary who became the first African priest in 1890.

[31] S. von Sicard, *The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania 1887*-1914 (Uppsala: Gleerup, 1970), pp. 135, 142-3.

Kasuku's experience as caretaker and teacher-in-charge at Maneromango was typical of the experience of African converts to Christianity who sought to spread their knowledge and convictions to others. They usually filled positions as teachers, assistant teachers, "helpers," or catechists rather than the more prestigious positions of deacon or priest, because these positions were denied them by the missionaries. As in the colonial administrative structure, European missionaries held the highest positions of the clergy. The job of the African subordinates was to "mediate intercourse between the missionary and the natives--Christians and pagans--residing in the area of the station.[32] They were, in effect, the "organic intellectuals" of the mission communities. The demands made of them were quite heavy, as this example from a CMS mission shows:

> Tofiki, *alias* Samson, renders invaluable assistance in various ways. Every morning about 6 a.m he goes (voluntarily) to the chief's house...talks to the chief about his soul, then collects his children and brings them here to be taught, and takes them home about four o'clock in the afternoon, and again at night, besides performing the duties of cook, washerman, etc., etc. I ought to mention that in addition to the above he preaches occasionally, both in Swahili and [K]igogo. His wife who is also a Christian, cooks gratis for the chief's children, who are living here, and scarcely a day passes, but that some one is fed from their table for Christ's sake and the Gospel's.[33]

These were the workers which made the mission enterprise function effectively, or ineffectively, as various circumstances and settings dictated.

All of these men had started off as students in the mission schools. The constituents of these schools often included a number of children who had been freed from slavery. For these children, Christian learning became a requirement. Although teaching varied considerably between different mission societies, and even between

---

[32] Translation of *Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa, 1901-1902*, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, p. 76.

[33] Beidelman, *Colonial Evangelism*, p. 169.

missions of the same society, one example should suffice to show the general atmosphere in which such teaching occurred. At the German Lutheran mission in Dar es Salaam in 1889, missionary J.J. Greiner recorded a day in the life of an African catechumen:

> At 5.30 a.m. our bell is sounded from the headquarters of the Imperial Commissioner . . . The children clean up the house, and at 6.30 a.m., according to the German custom, we have our morning coffee. This is followed by prayers, consisting of the daily word, a scripture portion and prayer (in German) after which the children repeat the Lord's prayer in Swahili. Then we go in procession to the 'shamba'. . . At 6.30 p.m. we sit down to supper, which again has been prepared and is waiting for us at home. After supper we have evening prayers in German. At this time a hymn is often sung to a wellknown tune. The evening lesson is read from the Prophets, after which I expound the main points of the chapter. After a prayer which in the evening is said kneeling, the children close with the Lord's prayer in Swahili, and the twenty-third Psalm or the Creed. When the prayers are finished the children clean the dishes and put them away. The bell is sounded for a period of reading, which now has to be held at night as no school can be held in the daytime.[34] I practice reading with the first class (four boys and two girls), while my niece reads with the second class (three girls and a boy). For closing we sing some verse and then to bed for the young ones . . . .[35]

This was typical of how mission schools conducted business. An emphasis was placed on work--the children spent all day working on the *shamba*, and were responsible for chores in the mission as well. Even after Immanuelskop was restored, the children only spent two and a half hours per morning in instruction. As another German mission society reported in 1902,

> All must show up for work. We follow the principle: the black people must be taught through work and prayers, the native must learn that work and prayer are essential for them, they must realize that work is an honour, that they cannot prosper without it and the necessary education. The one who does not work will be chased away and will never get the benefit of christening. The converts who never learned to work are a plague in the colony. . . .[36]

---

[34] The Lutheran mission complex in Dar es Salaam, Immanuelskop, had been destroyed during the Bushiri Rebellion, and was being reconstructed when this diary entry was written.

[35] Quoted in von Sicard, pp. 74-5. See also A.S. Mbise, "The Evangelist: Matayo Leveriya Kaaya," in *Modern Tanzanians,* John Iliffe, ed. (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1973), pp. 34-5.

[36] *Annual Report, 1901-1902,* pp. 39-40.

Obviously, this European-imposed paternalistic work ethic was a major factor in the lives of African students. Classroom time was minimal, and the few hours that were spent in class were split between learning languages (either local languages, Kiswahili, or German, or a combination thereof), Christian teaching, arithmetic, reading, and writing.[37]

It is interesting that German was used at Immanuelskop in 1889, given that this was well before the establishment of the German colonial structure, and of course well before the Imperial Government began "promoting" the language. The missionaries at Immanuelskop were German, and thus many have taught the converts some prayers or hymns in German to try to inculcate some measure of *Deutschtum* within the mission. This is suggested by the comment that morning coffee was served "according to the German custom."[38] Nevertheless, the primary language was Kiswahili.[39] The Immanuelskop case coincides with mission and government school reports of later years which show that German instruction was heavily reliant on such conventions as rote memorization, basic vocabulary, and singing songs. At Immanuelskop, it seems that German was used more for the benefit of the missionaries than for their African charges. This was also often the case during the colonial period.

The above quotation shows that mission work was based on oral communication and the ability to move with facility between languages. The routine mission activity

---

[37] Mbise, A. S., "The Evangelist: Matayo Leveriya Kaaya," in *Modern Tanzanians*, John Iliffe, ed. (Nairobi: East Africa Publishing House, 1973), p. 33.

[38] Such behavior was not universal among German missionaries, some of whom were vehemently opposed to teaching in anything but the "mother-tongue."

[39] Even though Kiswahili is not explicitly mentioned throughout the above quote as the language being used at Immanuelskop, this is a reasonable assumption given Immanuelkop's location in Dar es Salaam.

described above included two languages--German and Kiswahili. Because

Immanuelskop was on the coast, and Kiswahili was already the primary language of the

area, the language situation was not as complex here as at some other places, where a

day's activities might include communication in a local African language, Kiswahili, and

a European language. On the other hand, there were also some missions where only one

language, the vernacular, was used by students, African staff, and European clergy. It is

important to note these differences in how language was taught and employed at different

missions. Mission stations often operated as separate entities, with unique internal

practices and procedures. The diversity of the missions complicated the creation and

imposition of a coherent colonial language policy. From the perspective of Africans at

the local level, however, mission language practices probably made sense, especially to

young people who were still easily influenced and able to learn languages quickly.

On the other hand, it was not always so simple for older Africans who had been

freed from slavery and settled in the unfamiliar surroundings of the mission stations.

Utengule, a Moravian mission in the southern highlands, was a place where a number of

ex-slaves took refuge and found work. Many of them converted to Christianity after they

had been there for a time. However, it was not a straightforward process. As Marcia

Wright suggests, "[f]or older women in particular, perhaps partly owing to [the

missionary's] yet imperfect command of Kisafwa, it was sometimes only after years of

attendance that Christian ideas began to make sense."[40] This contention is supported by

---

[40] Marcia Wright, *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life-Stories from East/Central Africa* (New York: Lilian Barber Press, 1993), p. 211.

accounts from several freed slaves at Utengule. For example, one woman named Chisi explained:

> [a]fter I came to Utengule I learned the words of Jesus. But I did not hear with my ears, I only sat in the house in which the teaching was given [in Kisafwa]. All I understood was the name, Jesus Christ from above. Later the missionary taught us in the house of God. But there, too, I only understood the name--Jesus Christ. For five years I learnt, going to the teaching early each morning when the bell called us. Then I asked for baptism . . .[41]

Although Chisi did not specifically refer to language as being the source of her failure to understand the German missionary's teachings, this is a fair conclusion. Another elderly woman, Narwimba, echoed these sentiments, saying "[a]fter a time I went to be taught by the missionary, but I was so old that I could not understand much of what he said. When I had been taught for some years I was baptized . . . ."[42] Before arriving at Utengule, both of these women spoke languages other than the local language, Kisafwa. For them, learning Christianity and a new language at the same time presented a formidable challenge, but one which they overcame with perseverance and time. In comparison to the case of Msatulwa Mwachitete, a teenaged man at Utengule who became literate in less than a year, the struggle of these women is even more clear.[43]

One way in which the missions were quite distinct from the government schools was that they educated girls. For their part, the government schools did not educate a single girl during the German colonial period.[44] A comparison of numbers of pupils in

---

[41] Ibid., pp. 89-90.

[42] Ibid., p. 57.

[43] Ibid., p. 77-8.

[44] Juhani Koponen, *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914* (Helsinki: Lit Verlag, 1994), p. 524.

mission schools reveals that girls were educated in at least equal or higher numbers with boys during the German period. However, while the mission schools did provide education to girls, it was not to the same level as boys. Few girls apparently advanced to the central mission schools from the out-schools ("bush schools"). There were no secondary schools for girls. Education for girls was not viewed as a means for advancement but rather as a step in training wives for male converts. Thus in the Lutheran mission school for girls at Maneromango they were taught "reading, writing and singing from the biblical stories and hymns which [a missionary] had translated into Kizaramo."[45] They were often taught sewing, embroidery, cooking and other crafts. Language instruction was not a priority.

Some girls nevertheless demonstrated potential for learning additional languages when given the opportunity. For example, Moravian missionaries were stunned by the language ability of Tatu Mulondyelwa, a teenaged ex-slave girl who had come to them from an *askari* camp where she undoubtedly learned to speak Kiswahili fluently. She soon learned the local language, Kisafwa, and exhibited "exceptional mental capacity" for learning Christian teachings.[46] Other ex-slave women became teachers and assistants at the mission schools. For example, Mama Anna, originally from Yaoland, began helping the German missionary's wife at Maneromango in 1898.[47] Two other ex-slave women, Rose Mtaula and Theikla Sulimani, taught large UMCA girls' schools at Newala

---

[45] von Sicard, p. 138.

[46] Wright, *Strategies*, pp. 190, 192-3.

[47] von Sicard, p. 140.

and Masasi. They were all Kiswahili-speakers. In short, women took advantage of the limited opportunities available to them to learn and teach in the mission communities. Young girls had little choice in whether or not they attended school. Perhaps those that attended were exposed to some languages with which they were unfamiliar. It is likely that they became minimally literate in the language most useful to them in the community and as future Christian wives.

Various factors impeded the regular attendance of school for both boys and girls, and adult men and women. Particularly for children of parents who were not slaves, there was immense pressure placed on them to help with labor needs at home. Poor attendance because of "getting in the *mahindi*" or some other crop is a recurring complaint in missionary accounts.[48] In addition, children were kept out of school when traditional festivals or ceremonies occurred, such as circumcision and initiation rites. Sometimes parents were displeased with the content of what their children learned in the schools.[49] Girls who were of marriageable age generally did not return to school after they were married. In any case, it was often difficult for the missionaries to have continuity in any of their teaching, language instruction included. Thus while African students were exposed to new languages in the mission schools, it is doubtful that large numbers of Africans achieved advanced literacy in these schools.

In any given mission school, there was probably a small group of students, generally male, who attended regularly and advanced to the central schools. They were

[48] See for example translation of *Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1905-1906*, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, p. 36.

[49] See von Sicard, p. 138; Mkuzi mission diary entry for August 31st, 1890, December 1, 1890.

literate, usually Kiswahili-speakers, and Christian. Some of these pupils later became the missionary assistants, teachers and catechists who were so vital to the continuation of the evangelical cycle. A few went beyond those levels and asserted their independence as leaders of churches, both new and old. Others became junior administrators or laborers for the colonial government, or domestic servants to Europeans. Many of the founders of the Tanganyika African National Union (TANU) were mission-educated. In many ways, the mission-educated Africans served a critical "middleman" role in the colony.

Although this section has purposely concentrated on Africans who were freed from slavery, many other African mission school students were the children of free parents, including the children of chiefs, *majumbe,* and other notables. In some ways, the mission schools filled the gaps which the German government schools left empty. They gave girls a minimal education, they provided Christian religious instruction, and they reached a wider, more diverse audience. Because there were so many mission schools in Tanganyika, they provided more opportunities for education-minded Africans to attend school than did the government schools, which were dominated by the sons of coastal and inland elites who were usually Muslim.[50] Mission-educated Africans were important because they reflected increasing integration of Africans into the colonial economy and administrative structure. At the same time, those who stayed with the missions reflected the desire to work independently within their locales for change. Kiswahili was the language that enabled them to accomplish both of these seemingly contradictory objectives. While German was taught in some mission schools, there are strikingly few

---

[50] See G. S. Haule, "The Entrepreneur: Chrisostomus Makita," in *Modern Tanzanians,* John Iliffe, ed. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973), p. 159.

meaningful references to it in texts either by or about Africans in the missions. Interestingly, German colonial documents paint a very different picture of language practice in the colony. Those documents lead one to believe that the German language was of primary concern to all involved. As discussed in the previous chapter, this was not the case for most missionaries or their students. But what was happening in the government schools? Based on the available evidence, what can be said about the extent to which Africans learned German in the government schools? Were they able to use it once they finished school?

Africans, Government Schools, Colonial Administration, and Language Usage

Between the years of 1900 and 1905, the government schools overcame some of the problems which had plagued them in the earlier years. The schools were better attended, partially because of coercion or bribery by the Germans, and partially because Africans began to realize that graduation from government schools almost guaranteed them a place in the colonial economy. The pupils, though still mainly sons of the "elite," began to include more students from the interior and children of non-coastal peoples. Thus the student population became more diverse. For example, in 1902 the Dar es Salaam school reported that the school was attended by "many different elements," including "various Negro tribes, Indians, and Arabs." Interestingly, because the students came from all over German East Africa, many did not at first speak Kiswahili.[51] This caused some difficulties for the school, since Kiswahili was the medium of instruction.

---

[51] *Annual Report, 1901-1902,* p. 13.

Another factor in the growing success of the government schools was that many of the traditional coastal Koranic schools lost influence as Africans became aware of the potential material rewards which government school graduates might reap upon graduation. In 1902, the Imperial Government reported that about 2,200 students attended the government schools on the coast and in the hinterland. In 1905, there were 3, 677 students. These numbers steadily increased throughout the rest of German rule.[52]

Students in the upper levels (first class) at all of the coastal main schools learned German, usually for one to two hours a day. They were taught using various German primers, such as Oswald Rutz' *Chuo cha kidachi* ["Book of German;" a German primer]. In most cases, the emphasis of German instruction was on basic speech and vocabulary, not grammar. For example, at the Lindi school,

> stories, legends, fables, travel books, geographical pictures were exclusively discussed in the German language. This [gave] the pupils the opportunity to get accustomed to German sounds and to practice elocution exercises. This also enable[d] them to make themselves understood and to make conversation in German...At the end of the school year the better pupils were capable, owing to these many practical exercises, to understand a story depicting their daily life and to retell it in mediocre German.[53]

Some schools reported that the students were quite enthusiastic about learning German, although they also pointed out how difficult it was for them to learn, particularly because of pronunciation.[54]

Some students became assistant teachers in the government schools after graduating. Most of them were sent out to run the ever increasing number of hinterland

[52] *Annual Report, 1901-1902*, p. 12; *Annual Report, 1904-1905*, p. 18; Koponen, *Development*, p. 518.

[53] *Annual Report, 1904-1905*, p. 31.

[54] Ibid., p. 29; translation of *Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1903-1904*, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, p. 33.

feeder schools, but a few remained in the main schools on the coast. These African teachers often received additional intensive instruction in German to enable them to teach beginning German.[55] The assistant teachers thus represented the most advanced German speakers in the colony.

Despite these genuine efforts to produce students and teachers who could converse in basic German, the Annual Reports continued to describe overall progress in German language instruction as slow. In other words, although the most advanced students in the colony were learning to speak basic German, and the pool of potential German teachers was growing, the German government had little to show for their efforts. According to the records, German was not used to conduct colonial business. Why didn't German become more widespread with the increasing graduation of German-speaking Africans from the government schools?

There are at least three reasons that explain this disjuncture. First, the most advanced German-speakers were the assistant teachers, who remained in the schools and thus did not participate in junior administration or other work available to graduates of the government schools. Their talent was employed in teaching other Africans to speak German, but they did not themselves directly contribute to the use of German in colonial affairs. Secondly, the most advanced students were not given a chance to perfect their

---

[55] Translation of *Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1902-1903*, History Department, University of Dar es Salaam *Annual Report, 1902-1903*, p. 13; *Annual Report, 1901-1902*, p. 55.

German-speaking skills, because they were usually employed by government agencies immediately after finishing school.[56]

Finally, and most importantly, there were probably few places where they could use German if they were so inclined. In 1901, there were only 1,247 Europeans in the colony, 352 of whom were government employees. By contrast, in that year there were about 2,200 students in the government schools. There would not have been much occasion to speak German outside of school. This seems especially true in light of the fact that Kiswahili had now been in use as the language of administration for about ten years and was now entrenched. German government employees were required to learn it before they came to the colony. All of the evidence suggests that they used Kiswahili to conduct the majority of their business with Africans, and even amongst themselves. Moreover, African employees dealt mainly with other Africans. They were trained precisely for this reason--to impose colonial laws and administration on the seven million Africans of the territory. Obviously, German would have been useless in that capacity. There was little room for German to become an important colonial language under these circumstances. Even though German-speaking Africans filtered into government positions, it is unlikely that they had much occasion to put their basic German skills to use, or to increase their knowledge through practice.

---

[56] *Annual Report, 1903-1904,* p, 33. Of fifty-four students who graduated from the Lindi school in 1904, there were two government clerks, one postal official, two mechanics with the colonial military, fifteen students attending the secondary school at Tanga, two assistant teachers at the hinterland school, two houseboys, four clerks to *akidas,* two clerks with municipal administration, one community warden, and seventeen sons of *majumbe* who returned to assist their fathers.

The *askari* provide a good example to support this argument. The first *askari* under the Germans were actually Sudanese and Zulu mercenaries, but by the turn of the century most of the force was recruited from groups within German East Africa, such as the Wanyamwezi and Wasukuma, although Sudanese and Zulu elements were still present. For example, Kleist Sykes was the adopted son of a Zulu mercenary from Mozambique and a woman from Nyaturu. Because he was expected to become a soldier as well, Kleist was sent to school in Dar es Salaam in 1899, where he remembered studying German. He became an *askari* in 1906 at the age of twelve.[57] The *askari* had always used Kiswahili as the duty language, although all orders were given in German. As a check against disloyalty, *askari* were usually deployed outside their areas of origin.[58] Thus the *askari* likely used Kiswahili in their dealings with the local communities where they were deployed, because they were probably unfamiliar with local languages. Tatu, the Bemba ex-slave girl mentioned earlier, undoubtedly learned to speak Kiswahili while she was employed in an *askari* village near the *boma* at Tukuyu, north of Lake Nyasa.[59]

Kiswahili served in a contradictory role in the lives of the *askari*, as it did for many Africans during these years. It aided the formation of new communities for the transient *askari*, and it was a necessary unifying language for military men originating

---

[57]Daisy Sykes Buruku, "The Townsman: Kleist Sykes," in *Modern Tanzanians*, John Iliffe, ed. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973), p. 97.

[58] Koponen, *Development*, p. 569. On the other hand, some districts made it their policy to recruit mostly from the local population. See Theodor Gunzert, "Memoirs of a German District Commissioner in Mwanza 1907-1916," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 66, 1966, pp. 78-9.

[59] Wright, *Strategies*, p. 186-7; 190; 198.

from various parts of Africa. On the other hand, to the people of the surrounding communities, it was a language that sometimes represented outsiders and oppression in the form of tax collection or other colonial business. As has already been argued, Kiswahili occupied the middle ground of the language hierarchy--the place where all colonial business was conducted, mainly between African colonial representatives, who had some power, and ordinary Africans, who did not. This position in the hierarchy created tension between the "unifying" potential of the language and its role as the linguistic vehicle of the politically and economically stratified colonial society.

Africans, Maji Maji and Language Usage

The Maji Maji Rebellion, which began in July 1905, embodied this tension. Although the outbreak of rebellion cannot be explained by any single cause,[60] one factor in Maji Maji was the desire among some Africans to accept no longer the harshness of German rule. As agents of the German overlords, and perpetrators of brutal and exploitative acts against ordinary Africans, the *askari, maakida, maliwali,* and some *majumbe* were targets of the rebels. As Mzee Mohamed Mbenju recalled,

> There was every kind of suffering. The askari were a calamity. You carried a heavy load. He did not assess your strength to carry the load. If it were too heavy for you you carried it until you died. Then when the askari was within distance he sent a bullet to the nearest jumbe. On receiving that bullet, the jumbe had to fetch a very beautiful woman and slaughter a chicken or goat for him. Without these things he would be in trouble. All people were barbarians to the askari. A small mistake would be punishable with twenty-five strokes. . . All these are words that buzz like bees. If you had experienced it, you would have known how grave it was. To be chained, to be shot with bullets in the crown of one's head and in one's chest, while in addition you carried loads as the great eye of heaven rose up! Alas, such was life, and those iron chains were many--he made them in

---

[60] For a discussion of post-colonial historiography of Maji Maji, see Marcia Wright, "Maji Maji: Prophecy and Historiography," in *Revealing Prophets,* David M. Anderson and Douglas H. Johnson, eds. (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995), pp. 124-142.

his own country. Better remove such suffering; fight him off so that the loads are carried by the askari themselves.[61]

Mzee Mbenju's statement crystallizes much of what Maji Maji was about. He comments on the general hatred of alien rule by linking the *askari* with the German rulers, who "made the chains in [their] own country." In addition, earlier in his narrative, he notes that of seven *maakida* who work in the local area, only one is an "African." The rest he calls "Arabs."[62] He also links both the *askari* and the Germans with the oppressive behavior which turns the life of an African laborer into one of suffering. Finally, he expresses an inherent tension in the German colonial system: he wants the privileged *askari* to bear the burden that he does as a non-privileged laborer. Thus, in a sense, Kiswahili and oppression were linked in the personages of the colonial administrators-- "African," "Arab," or "Swahili." While one should not take this idea too far, it is nevertheless important to note that Maji Maji was, in part, directed against those who had gained access to power, and held power, by speaking Kiswahili.

By contrast, Ali A. Mazrui asserts that Swahili served as a unifying language during Maji Maji. He quotes linguist and Kiswahili expert, M. H. Abdulaziz, who writes, "the Maji Maji war of 1905-07 against German colonial rule drew its support from different mother-tongue speakers who already possessed a rallying force in [Kiswahili]."[63] The language was used as a "trans-ethnic medium of communication"

---

[61] G.C.K. Gwassa and John Iliffe, eds. *Records of the Maji Maji Rising, Part One* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 8.

[62] Ibid. He was probably referring to "ethnic" Swahili by using this term. He differentiates them from "Africans," which is significant.

[63] Quoted in Mazrui, *Political Sociology*, p. 132.

during Maji Maji, serving an organizational function for the rebels.[64] Historians

generally agree that the scale and complexity of Maji Maji was unprecedented in the

history of reactions to colonialism in Tanganyika. The rebellion encompassed over

twenty different "ethnic" groups and covered over 100,000 square miles of the southern

portion of Tanganyika.[65] It was motivated by a common ideology and by common

grievances. According to Mazrui and Mazrui, Kiswahili was the means by which the

Maji Maji ideology was transmitted to the rebels. For example, they remark that "the

nywinywila, the whispering campaign used to communicate the ideological substance of

the movement, relied heavily on Kiswahili."[66] Kiswahili was undoubtedly an integral

part of the rebellion.

Mazrui also points out that the use of Kiswahili as a communicative unifier

during the rebellion was in part reflective of the ultimate contradiction within German

colonial language policy and practice. The Germans had promoted Kiswahili as the

language of administration because it had the potential to bring multilingual Tanganyika

closer together, making their task easier. They had avoided dedicating serious effort to

German partially because they were afraid of giving Africans access to "sources of

European knowledge."[67] Instead, they poured their efforts into promoting Kiswahili.

Unfortunately for the Germans, Kiswahili also played a substantial part in provoking the

---

[64] Ibid. See also Ali A. Mazrui and Alamin M. Mazrui, *Swahili State and Society: the Political Economy of an African Language* (Nairobi: East African Educational Publishers, 1995), p. 37.

[65] G.C.K. Gwassa, "Kinjikitile and the Ideology of Maji Maji," in T. O. Ranger and I. N. Kimambo, eds., *The Historical Study of African Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), p. 202.

[66] Mazrui and Mazrui, *Swahili State,* p. 37.

[67] Ibid., pp. 38-9.

revolt, in the form of abusive *askari* and *maakida*.[68] As a result of their successful efforts

to promote Kiswahili instead of German, German administrators and their missionary

counterparts "gave" the rebels a valuable tool for confronting the power of colonialism.

Nationalist historians have argued that because Maji Maji was the first nationalist mass

movement in Tanganyika, Kiswahili took on a nationalist role during that rebellion.[69] It

is outside the scope of this paper to discuss the issue of nationalism and language in

detail. It is safe to say, however, that Kiswahili was utilized during Maji Maji, as it

would be in the future, as a means of uniting and organizing people of different ethnic,

religious, and socio-economic groups to achieve a common goal--the end of colonialism.

It is ironic that German colonial language policy ultimately enhanced the role of

Kiswahili in this capacity despite widespread German misgivings throughout the colonial

period about the dangers of "allowing" their African subjects to speak a language with

such unifying and disruptive potential.[70]

The Aftermath of Maji Maji

In the aftermath of Maji Maji, the Germans took an unusual approach. As John

Iliffe contends,

> [i] n colonial history, the normal European response to widespread rebellion was to
> decentralise, to encourage 'strong and isolated tribal nationalism.' It was of great

---

[68]In the works cited above, Mazrui and Mazrui do not discuss Kiswahili's role in colonial repression of African subjects. However, I consider this to be an important issue which must be explained in the context of conflicting interests between Europeans and Africans, and between African administrators and subjects.

[69] Mazrui, *Political Sociology*, p. 133.

[70] This fear was also reflected in post-Maji Maji efforts to purge all Arabic influences from Kiswahili to "de-Islamize" the language.

importance to Tanganyika that the German administration did not do this after Maji Maji. Instead, it tended to reinforce centralisation and bureaucracy...[71]

The Germans accomplished this by continuing to employ the literate Kiswahili-speaking graduates of the government and mission schools to fill new positions in the interior. Some went to traditional *akida* positions, but others were sent to be assistants to illiterate *majumbe*, or to become tax clerks. An effort was made to send administrators to work in the areas of their origins to overcome the animosity felt towards the "Arab" outsiders.[72] Iliffe has labeled these men--Christian, Western-educated, and Kiswahili-speaking-- "the improvers." In his words, "improvement" implied "evolution rather than revolution, an acceptance of the framework of colonial rule while attempting to modify its character."[73] As Iliffe acknowledges, however, it is overly simplistic to argue that "the improvers" simply took over colonial administration after Maji Maji. For example, in the case of Shambaai the *akidas* remained Muslim throughout the rest of the German period despite the intervention of Lutheran missionaries in the area.[74] Many of the rulers after Maji Maji remained the same as before the rebellion.[75]

Iliffe also makes the problematic suggestion that "improvement" became the primary historical theme in Tanganyika only *after* Maji Maji. In other words, after Maji Maji, Africans realized that their only chance of overthrowing colonialism was to work

---

[71] John Iliffe, *Tanganyika Under German Rule 1905-1912* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), p. 180.

[72] Koponen, *Development*, p. 284.

[73] Iliffe, *Tanganyika Under German Rule*, p. 166.

[74] Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), p. 132, 134.

[75] Koponen, *Development*, p. 285.

within its framework for change. Thus, they inaugurated the "age of improvement and differentiation."[76] This contention cannot account for the dynamics that have been emphasized throughout this paper. Using his terms, had not Africans been "improving" well before Maji Maji, and even well before colonial rule? The utility of such an identifier is questionable, partly because it is mired in Western assumptions about what it means to "improve"--literacy, technology, centralized government and economy. However, it is also tied to a specific historical event. This paper has attempted to show, through the dissection of German colonial language policy, and through examining the roles of Africans in its evolution, that Africans at all levels made decisions about language usage based on their immediate interests, but also within the constraints placed on them by the dominant group. This occurred both in pre-colonial and colonial times.

Given this argument, the notion of "organic intellectuals" seems to have more descriptive power than "the improvers" for analyzing the role of the educated Africans who became increasingly involved in the German colonial structure. Before, during, and after Maji Maji there were colonial agents who mediated the ground between colonizer and colonized. Kiswahili was their linguistic tool. Precisely because of their role as intermediaries, the *askari* and *maakida* became targets of the Maji Maji rebels. But we need not limit the "organic intellectuals" to the colonial apparatus. The mission-educated Africans who remained working in the mission communities performed a similar function. One could even argue that the *kiongozi* who led caravans from the coast to the interior from as early as 1800 operated in this capacity by mediating between the

---

[76] John Iliffe, "The Age of Improvement and Differentiation (1907-45)," in *A History of Tanzania*, I. N. Kimambo and A. J. Temu, eds. (Nairobi: Heinemann, 1969), pp. 123-160.

patrons on the coast and the suppliers in the interior. Kiswahili had served as a language of power--though not the only one--in this region well before the arrival of the Germans. African "organic intellectuals" had a history of using Kiswahili to communicate with both the dominant group and the dominated.

Paradoxically, in Maji Maji, African and German language interests coincided, with Kiswahili simultaneously acting as a language of repression and rebellion. In addition, it was the language in which all colonial affairs were conducted. In that historical moment, the teaching of German was proven to be utterly useless for local conditions. Yet if we used Iliffe's reasoning, it would seem that the "improvers" would have demanded to learn advanced, literary German in order to "improve" the lot of Africans from within colonialism. Evidence from the life of one such "improver," Martin Kayamba, supports this contention. During the German period, Kayamba was educated by the UMCA at its St. Andrew's College at Kiungani on Zanzibar, the best of the few secondary schools of East Africa. While there, he learned advanced Kiswahili and English. In later years, while serving on the Advisory Committee on Native Education under British colonialism, Kayamba insisted that Africans should have access to "the best education possible." According to Iliffe,

> [b]y implication this meant a literary education in English. . . . Without a 'European' type of education Africans had little chance of achieving power in that society. 'The Africans', [Kayamba] wrote, 'think that without literary education their present rate of progress will be very slow indeed and unnecessarily slow . . . . Those who think that literary education is unsuitable for Africans ignore the fact of its importance and indispensability to any sort of education, and therefore deny the Africans the very means of progress.[77]

[77]John Iliffe, "The Spokesman: Martin Kayamba," in *Modern Tanzanians* (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973), pp. 75-6.

Kayamba's story, like those of many other educated Africans in Tanganyika and other parts of colonial Africa, expresses discontent with European reluctance to teach Africans their languages. There is little evidence, however, to show that "improvers" under German colonialism felt the same way about German instruction as Kayamba did about English. How are we to account for this?

Kayamba had been educated by the British during German times. As a result, he and other graduates of Kiungani were loyal to the British and were not trusted by the Germans. As an English-speaker, he was atypical of most other educated Tanganyikans, whose access to the German language (and other European languages) had been purposefully restricted by the German colonialists and the missionaries. In comparing German and French colonial language policies, Ali Mazrui astutely observes:

> [t]he French tried to create a mystique of France by popularizing the French language; the Germans were tempted to create a mystique of Germany by isolating their language from the squalor of popular comprehension and making it mysteriously and powerfully distant. . . . It was, therefore, basically presumptuous for an African to aspire to Germanhood in culture.[78]

Africans undoubtedly recognized German unwillingness to train them in German. Kiswahili was their alternative, and they made extensive use of it. The numbers of students in the mission and government schools constantly increased throughout the German period. As new hinterland and out-schools sprang up, more Africans were able to attend schools, and thus swelled the numbers of Kiswahili-speakers, although there still existed in 1913 "'remote and inaccessible regions' where the population shunned the colonial power or otherwise was 'insubordinate.'"[79] In addition, several Kiswahili

---

[78] Mazrui, *Political Sociology*, p. 135.

[79] Koponen, *Development*, p. 559.

newspapers, such as *Kiongozi* [Leader] and *Pwani na Bara* [Coast and Mainland], gained widespread circulation during these years. With nowhere to use their basic German skills, and opportunities for Kiswahili-speakers expanding on all sides, it is hard to imagine that most Africans viewed their rather limited access to the German language as a serious impediment. Learning German would not fundamentally alter their situation. They were probably much more concerned with their lack of access to capital, their exploitation as laborers, and their oppressive taxation. They would have been painfully aware of the racism which bolstered the colonial economic and social structure. That structure ensured that Africans would not achieve the same power as the colonial rulers within the context of colonialism. Kiswahili increasingly became a geographical and political link between diverse groups of Tanganyikans. Just as Kiswahili occupied the middle tier of the language hierarchy in colonial Tanganyika, the educated Africans who spoke it continued to serve as middlemen, or "organic intellectuals," negotiating the terrain between German rulers and the Tanganyikan ruled.

For their part, the Germans continued the tactic of educating a tiny portion of the population in German and claiming progress, while also continuing to devote the most resources to the promotion of Kiswahili. Similarly, the mission schools continued educating Africans with the goal of creating a Christianized colonial administration to replace the Muslim-dominated one. Kiswahili was the most important language for that purpose, and most mission efforts to teach German remained half-hearted. Both Europeans and Africans in German colonial Tanganyika knew that reality dictated policy,

and they all performed their roles within that reality as required to protect and further their own interests.

CHAPTER 4
CONCLUSION

I am well aware of all the noble reasons given in favor of teaching German in our colonial schools. I agree that it should be taught there whenever possible. But it must never become the language of instruction.

It must be admitted that many of the natives in the German colonies have great gifts for learning languages. It would be no difficulty to teach those gifted students to speak German well in six to seven years. But even if they are able to speak it after that time in the manner of parrots, what would we have gained? German would still be a foreign tongue for them. . . .

It is important that we do not expect too much from the teaching of the German language. I am convinced that we shall have grave racial problems in our colonies in a few decades. It is absurd to think that even German-speaking natives will then be on our side. They will remain children of their culture whether they have learned to speak German or not. On the contrary, those natives who have received an education from us will then become leaders of their people in the struggle against us.[1]

By the time German scholar Martin Schlunk wrote the above in his study, *Das Schulwesen in den deutschen Schutzgebieten,* in 1914, the question of Africans speaking German in Tanganyika was, for the most part, a moot point. Nevertheless, the ideas he expressed in this excerpt serve to highlight the major points of this thesis. After a cursory acknowledgment to the advocates of German instruction in the African colonies, he immediately revealed his true position in arguing that German must never be used on a wide scale by Africans. He supported this assertion with reasons that echo those implied by the colonial administrators in the Annual Reports. What good would it do for Africans to learn German, when the Germans were not planning on yielding any power to

---

[1] Martin Schlunk, "German Educational Policy: The School System in the German Colonies," Wallace Morgan transl., in David G. Scanlon, ed. *Traditions of African Education* (New York: Columbia University, 1964), p. 43.

them? It is significant that Schlunk does not mention the availability of special

employment opportunities for German-speaking Africans. They were basically non-

existent. Moreover, Schlunk points out what he considers to be the inadequacy of

German instruction in colonial schools when he notes that given six or seven years, an

intelligent African could become a sophisticated German-speaker.[2] With few exceptions,

African students in Tanganyika received a maximum of two years of basic German

instruction. Finally, unaware of the fate that was to befall Germany in World War I,

Schlunk reiterated the inherent German fear that if Africans were allowed to learn

German, they would use it as a tool against colonial rule. In short, Schlunk's essay

encapsulated and perpetuated the contradictions identified in the German colonial

documents with regard to language. Although we can only speculate about what would

have occurred had the Germans retained their African colonies after World War I, there

did not appear to be any major policy shift in the works in 1914.

A Tanganyikan reading this essay in 1914 would undoubtedly have recognized its

connections to local reality, which had changed little since 1907. More African children

had been educated, and more Africans had become enmeshed in the colonial economy.

However, the heart of German colonial policy remained the same. As predicted by

Schlunk, the "natives" educated during the German period did indeed become "leaders"

of the people in the struggle against colonialism. Men like Erica Fiah, Martin Kayamba,

---

[2] Schlunk's quotation makes a practical point about the difficulty of learning a new language, particularly one of a completely foreign language group, such as a Kiswahili-speaker learning German. Nevertheless, the overall tone of his essay expresses the paternalistic and racist foundations of the colonial system, which aimed to educate Africans almost exclusively for work in the administration and as laborers in the colonial economy as cheaper alternatives to Europeans, Indians, and "Arabs." Ibid., pp. 29-50.

Paulo Mashambo, and Joseph Kimalando were all leaders, albeit of quite different types,

in the drive toward Tanganyikan independence.[3] They, and others like them, were

educated in either mission or government schools, and became agents of colonialism--

agents who could be called "organic intellectuals," or "the dominant group's deputies."[4]

As Steven Feierman explains in *Peasant Intellectuals*,

> The colonial regime's choice of African agents--of the intellectuals who served them--
> would profoundly influence the changing character of African life. The Europeans lacked
> the knowledge of African society to control the day-to-day affairs on a practical basis.
> They did not understand African culture from within, and therefore could not reason with
> local Africans to convince them of the wisdom, or even the acceptability, of particular
> policies. They chose African agents who used their own words to support the colonial
> policies they administered . . . By choosing the agents, the colonialists shaped the
> language of African politics in powerful ways.[5]

Feierman goes on to point out that there were different "sets" of local agents, each of

whom "enjoyed some degree of autonomy" while "shap[ing] discourse in the interests of

their colonial masters," yet also "turn[ing] that discourse against the rulers.[6] They were

the mediators between the rulers and the ruled who performed "organizational, educative,

or directive tasks."[7] They performed these tasks in a variety of ways--as teachers,

---

[3] Erica Fiah was the founder of a Garveyite organization and a newspaper, *Kwetu*, in the 1930's. Joseph
Kimalando was one of the seventeen founders of TANU in 1954. Paulo Mashambo was a Seventh Day
Adventist Teacher, and a leader of the *mbiru* tax protest movement in 1945-6. Martin Kayamba served in a
variety of posts during the British colonial period, and was heavily involved with the formation of
educational policy. See N. J. Westcott, "An East African Radical: The Life of Erica Fiah," in *Journal of
African History*, 22 (1981), I, pp. 85-101; S. W. Frederick, "The Life of Joseph Kimalando," in *Tanganyika
Notes and Records*, 70, 1969, pp. 21-28; I. N. Kimambo and E. A. Lukwaro, *A Peasant and Political
Leader in Upare* (Dar es Salaam: Historical Association of Tanzania, 1987), p. 7; John Iliffe, "The
Spokesman: Martin Kayamba," in *Modern Tanzanians*, John Iliffe, ed. (Nairobi: East African Publishing
House, 1973), pp. 66-94.

[4] Quoted in Steven Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), p.
123.

[5] Ibid., p. 120.

[6] Ibid., pp. 121-4.

[7] Ibid. p. 123.

administrators, clergy, military men, and so on. Kiswahili was their medium, and the more their numbers grew, the deeper Kiswahili became entrenched in Tanganyikan culture.

Significantly, because the idea of the "organic intellectual" is not necessarily linked to any particular historical period, we can use it to explain much about the use of Kiswahili from pre-colonial times through the German period. It was employed by "those who were not dominant but who occupied mediating and interstitial positions within the structure of power"--traders, interpreters, Muslim clerics, colonial administrators, *askari, majumbe,* Christian evangelists, and mission and government school teachers. Even the European missionaries often operated as colonial agents, and used Kiswahili to do so.[8] This is not to say that only those in mediating positions used Kiswahili. As has already been argued, many other Africans also learned to use Kiswahili under various circumstances. For example, agricultural and railway laborers also likely spoke Kiswahili, because many of them were educated. Women learned Kiswahili in schools, through trade, and through their connections to other Kiswahili-speakers (as in the *askari* "villages"). However, these Africans did not generally fill the same mediating roles as the "organic intellectuals." In fact, women did not begin to attain such positions in larger numbers until the rise of TANU in the 1950's.

This paper has argued that it is more useful to view German colonial language policy as a discursive process between competing colonial realities in Tanganyika and

---

[8]Isaria N. Kimambo, *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1991), pp. 61-63.

nationalist desires in the metropole than as a monolithic, immutable and independent construction by German colonialists. It is critical that we view African reactions to colonial policy in the same way--as a discursive process in which Africans made conscious decisions about what role to play in relation to policy. The "organic intellectuals" worked within the framework of colonialism. As Feierman notes, however, with reference to the Shambaa, "[t]he colonial rulers determined who in African society introduced the terms of political debate, but they could never determine where that debate would end."[9] This may be useful in explaining Maji Maji. The *askari* and *maakida* were the colonial agents, but the discourse between them and the ruled ended in rebellion. This was not the expectation of the colonialists when they chose their agents.

In summary, the value of viewing the question of German colonial language policy and African responses as a discursive process is that it yields a multi-dimensional historical narrative of the era. Such an interpretation offers the student of colonialism in Africa--or of Africans in colonialism--many more options in writing a narrative than does Iliffe's "age of improvement" notion. Improvement, in Iliffe's own words, implies evolution rather than revolution. In accepting that a discursive relationship existed between local colonial realities and metropolitan ideas, between African responses and colonialist initiatives, and between Africans and other Africans, we can accommodate both evolution and revolution in this narrative.

---

[9] Feierman, *Peasant Intellectuals*, p. 124.

GLOSSARY

askari: a soldier or policeman

batemi (sing. *ntemi*): local rulers in Usukuma

Bezirksamt: district office

boma: military and administrative headquarters building

Chuo cha Kidachi: German reader for African students

Deutsch Ostafrika Gesellschaft (DOAG): German East Africa Company

Deutschtum: "German-ness;" German culture

Fond zur Verbreitung der deutschen Sprache: Fund for Promoting the German Language

katikiro: messengers between German colonialists and local rulers in Usukuma

kiongozi: leader

maakida (sing. *akida*): intermediate officers in the German colonial administration

mahindi: maize

majumbe (sing. *jumbe*): lesser chiefs

maliwali (sing. *liwali*): governors

mrima: coastal hinterland region

mwalimu (pl. *waalimu*): an teacher of Islam and the Koran

Reichstag: German legislative branch of government

shamba (pl. *mashamba*): plot of land for farming

Shirazi: a title claimed by wealthy Swahili of the coast

vibarua (sing. *kibarua*): slaves who were hired out by the day

wapagazi (sing. *mpagazi*): porters

washenzi (sing. *mshenzi*): barbarians; a derogatory term for up-country people

waungwana (sing. *mwungwana*): refined "gentlemen" of the coast

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Abdallah, Yohanna B. *The Yaos.* Zomba, Nyasaland: Government Printing Office, 1919; repr., London: Frank Cass, 1973.

Allen, James de Vere. *Swahili Origins: Swahili Culture and the Shungwaya Phenomenon.* Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993.

Alpers, Edward. "Towards a History of the Expansion of Islam in East Africa: the Matrilineal People of the Southern Interior," in *The Historical Study of African Religion.* T.O. Ranger and I. N. Kimambo, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1901-1902. Translation in History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1902-1903. Translation in History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1903-1904. Translation in History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1904-1905. Translation in History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Annual Report on the Development of German East Africa 1905-1906. Translation in History Department, University of Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Austen, Ralph. *Northwest Tanzania Under German and British Rule.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968.

Baumann, Oscar. *Usambara and its Neighboring Regions.* M. A. Godfredsen, transl. History Department, University of Dar es Salaam.

Beidelman, T. O. *Colonial Evangelism: a Socio-Historical Study of an East African Mission at the Grassroots.* Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.

Beidelman, T. O. "A History of Ukaguru: 1857-1916," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records,* 58 & 59, 1962.

Bennett, Norman. "The Arab Impact," in *Zamani: a Survey of East African History.* B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, eds. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.

Bennett, Norman. *From Zanzibar to Ujiji.* Boston: Boston University, 1969.

Bennett, Norman. *Mirambo of Tanzania, ca. 1840-1884.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Burton, Sir Richard F. *The Lake Regions of Central Africa, Vol 1.* London: 1860; repr., New York: Horizon Press, 1961.

Buruku, Daisy Sykes. "The Townsman: Kleist Sykes," in *Modern Tanzanians.* John Iliffe, ed. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973.

Chittick, Neville. "The Coast Before the Arrival of the Portuguese," in *Zamani: a Survey of East African History.* B. A. Ogot and J. A Kieran, eds., Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.

Curtin, Philip, and Steven Feierman, Leonard Thompson, Jan Vansina. *African History.* New York: Longman, 1991).

Fabian, Johannes. *Language and Colonial Power: the Appropriation of Swahili in the Former Belgian Congo 1880-1938.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986.

Fabian, Johannes. *Language on the Road: Notes on Swahili in two Nineteenth Century Travelogues.* Hamburg: Helmut Buske Verlag, 1984.

Feierman, Steven. *Peasant Intellectuals: Anthropology and History in Tanzania.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990.

Feierman, Steven. *The Shambaa Kingdom.* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1974.

Frederick, S. W. "The Life of Joseph Kimalando," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records,* 70, 1969.

Gann, L. H. and Peter Duignan, *The Rulers of German Africa, 1884-1914.* Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1977.

Glassman, Jonathon. *Feasts and Riots: Revelry, Rebellion and Popular Consciousness on the Swahili Coast, 1856-1888.* Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1995.

Gramsci, Antonio. *Selections from the Prison Notebooks.* Quentin Hoare and Geoffrey Nowell Smith, eds. New York: International Publishers, 1971.

Gray, John. "Trading Expeditions from the Coast to Lakes Tanganyika and Victoria Before 1857," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records,* 49, 1957.

Gunzert, Theodor. "Memoirs of a German District Commissioner in Mwanza 1907-1916," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records,* 66, 1966.

Gwassa G. C. K. "Kinjikitile and the Ideology of Maji Maji," in *The Historical Study of African Religion.* T. O. Ranger and I. N. Kimambo, eds. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

Gwassa, G. C. K. and John Iliffe, eds. *Records of the Maji Maji Rising, Part One.* Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967.

Hassing, Per and Norman Bennett. "A Journey Across Tanganyika in 1886," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records,* 58 & 59, March and September 1962.

Haule, G. S. "The Entrepreneur: Chrisostomus Makita," in *Modern Tanzanians.* John Iliffe, ed. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973.

Henderson, W. O. "German East Africa, 1884-1918," in *History of East Africa.* Vincent Harlow and E. M. Chilver, eds. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965.

Hirji, Karim F. "Colonial Ideological Apparatuses in Tanganyika Under the Germans," in *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule.* M. H. Y. Kaniki, ed. London: Longman, 1979.

Hornsby, George. "A Brief History of Tanga School up to 1914," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records,* 58 & 59, March and September 1963.

Iliffe, John. "The Age of Improvement and Differentiation (1907-45)," in *A History of Tanzania.* Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969.

Iliffe, John. *A Modern History of Tanganyika.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979.

Iliffe, John. "The Spokesman: Martin Kayamba," in *Modern Tanzanians.* John Iliffe, ed. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973.

Iliffe, John. *Tanganyika Under German Rule, 1905-1912.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969.

Itandala, Buluda. "African Response to German Colonialism in East Africa: the Case of Usukuma, 1890-1918," in *Ufahamu*, XX, I, Winter 1992.

Jackson, Robert D. "Resistance to the German Invasion of the Tanganyikan Coast, 1888-1891," in *Protest and Power in Black Africa*. Robert I. Rotberg and Ali A. Mazrui, eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Kaniki, M. H. Y. ed. *Tanzania Under Colonial Rule*. London: Longman, 1979.

Kimambo, Isaria N. "The Pare," in *Tanzania Before 1900*. Andrew Roberts, ed. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.

Kimambo, Isaria N. and E. A. Lukwaro. *A Peasant and Political Leader in Upare*. Dar es Salaam: Historical Association of Tanzania, 1987.

Kimambo, Isaria N. *Penetration and Protest in Tanzania: The Impact of the World Economy on the Pare 1860-1960*. London: James Currey, 1991.

Kimambo, Isaria N. *A Political History of the Pare*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969.

Kimambo, Isaria N. and A.J. Temu, eds. *A History of Tanzania*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969.

Koponen, Juhani. *Development for Exploitation: German Colonial Policies in Mainland Tanzania, 1884-1914*. Helsinki: Lit Verlag, 1994.

Koponen, Juhani. *People and Production in Late Precolonial Tanzania*. Jyvaskyla: Gummerus KirjapainoOy, 1988.

Lamden, S. C. "Some Aspects of Porterage in East Africa," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 61, September 1963.

Mazrui, Alamin M. and Ibrahim Noor Shariff. *The Swahili: Idiom and Identity of an African People*. Trenton: Africa World Press, 1994.

Mazrui, Ali and Pio Zirimu. "Church, State, and Marketplace in the Spread of Kiswahili: Comparative Educational Implications," in *Case Studies in Bilingual Education*. Bernard Spolsky and Robert L. Cooper, eds. Rowley: Newbury House Publishers, 1978.

Mazrui, Ali. *The Political Sociology of the English Language*. The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1975.

Mazrui, Ali and Alamin M. Mazrui. *Swahili State and Society: the Political Economy of an African Language*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1995.

Mbise, A. S. "The Evangelist: Matayo Leveriya Kaaya," in *Modern Tanzanians*. John Iliffe, ed. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1973.

Nurse, Derek and Thomas Spear. *The Swahili: Reconstructing the History and Language of an African Society, 800-1500*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1985.

Ogot, B.A. and J.A. Kieran, eds. *Zamani: A Survey of East African History*. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.

Oliver, Roland. *The Missionary Factor in East Africa*. London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1952.

Perham, Margery. *Ten Africans*. London: Faber and Faber Limited, 1936.

Pike, Charles. "History and Imagination: Swahili Literature and Resistance to German Language Imperialism in Tanzania, 1885-1910," in *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 19, 2 (1986).

Ranger, Terence O. "The Movement of Ideas, 1850-1939," in *A History of Tanzania*, Isaria Kimambo and A.J Temu, eds. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1969.

Ranger, Terence O. "The Rise and Fall of the Matola Chiefs of South-East Tanzania," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 20, I (1979).

Roberts, Andrew. "The Nyamwezi," in *Tanzania Before 1900*, Andrew Roberts, ed. Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1968.

Sahlberg, Carl-Erik. *From Krapf to Rugambwa--a Church History of Tanzania*. Nairobi: Evangel Publishing House, 1986.

Schlunk, Martin. "German Educational Policy: The School system in the German Colonies," in *Traditions of African Education*. Wallace Morgan, transl., David G. Scanlon, ed. New York: Columbia University, 1964.

Shorter, Aylward. "The Rise and Decline of Bungu Power," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 73, 1974.

Small, N. J. "UMCA: the Early Work in Education, 1876-1905," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 86 & 87, 1981.

Smith, Anthony. "The Missionary Contribution to Education (Tanganyika) to 1914," in *Tanganyika Notes and Records*, 60, March 1963.

Stahl, Kathleen M. *History of the Chagga People of Kilimanjaro*. London: Mouton & Co., 1964.

Steere, Edward. *Collections for a Handbook of the Nyamwezi Language, as Spoken at Unyanyembe*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1885.

Tanzania National Archives. German Colonial Files. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

Tanzania National Archives. Mkuzi Mission Diary. Dar es Salaam, Tanzania.

von Sicard, S. *The Lutheran Church on the Coast of Tanzania 1887-1914*. Uppsala: Gleerup, 1970.

Westcott, N. J. "An East African Radical: the Life of Erica Fiah," in *Journal of African History*, 22 (1981), I.

Weule, Karl. *Native Life in East Africa*. New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1909; repr., Chicago: Afro-Am Press, 1969.

Whiteley, Wilfred. *Swahili: The Rise of a National Language*. London: Methuen and Co Ltd, 1969.

Wilson, George Herbert. *The History of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa*. Freeport: Books for Libraries Press, 1971.

Wolf, James B. ed. *The Central African Diaries of Walter Hutley 1877 to 1881*. Boston: Boston University, 1976.

Wright, Marcia. *German Missions in Tanganyika 1891-1941: Lutherans and Moravians in the Southern Highlands*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971.

Wright, Marcia. "Local Roots of Policy in German East Africa," in *Journal of African History*, IX, 4 (1968).

Wright, Marcia. "Maji Maji: Prophecy and Historiography," in *Revealing Prophets*. David M. Anderson and Douglas H. Johnson, eds. Athens: Ohio University Press, 1995.

Wright, Marcia. *Strategies of Slaves and Women: Life-Stories from East/Central Africa*. New York: Lilian Barber Press, 1993.

Wright, Marcia. "Swahili Language Policy, 1890-1940," in *Swahili*, XXXV, 1965.
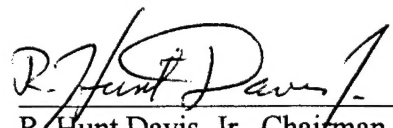
BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Michelle R. Moyd was born on February 29th, 1968, in Rome, New York. As the daughter of a military family, she spent her childhood in various places in the United States, Europe and Asia. She graduated from Kaiserslautern American High School, Kaiserslautern, Germany, in 1986. She then attended Princeton University, Princeton, New Jersey, on an Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps (AFROTC) scholarship. While there, she was selected to complete her degree in the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton. Ms. Moyd graduated in 1990 with a bachelor's degree in international relations and a certificate in European Cultural Studies. She was also commissioned as a second lieutenant in the Air Force upon graduation from Princeton.

In 1991 she attended technical training to become an Air Force intelligence officer. Upon completion, Ms. Moyd was assigned to McGuire Air Force Base, New Jersey, where she spent nearly four years supporting airlift operations. While there, she was responsible for providing intelligence information to various levels of decisionmakers, including commanders, aircrew members, and personnel deploying to locations around the world. She routinely analyzed and reported on political and military affairs in regions of concern to the Air Force, such as Somalia, Haiti, Bosnia, the former Soviet Union, and Rwanda. She was sent to Somalia with her squadron during Operation Restore Hope in December 1992, where she remained for three months,
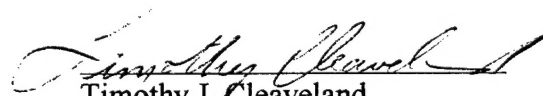
providing intelligence information to support the airlift operation in that country. She was promoted to first lieutenant in November 1992, and to captain in November 1994.

Ms. Moyd accepted an offer to join the faculty of the history department at the United States Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colorado, in August 1994. In preparation for her new duties, Ms. Moyd began studying for her Master of Arts degree in African history at the University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida, in August 1995. After completing her degree in December 1996, she will teach world history and African history at the Air Force Academy, starting in January 1997.
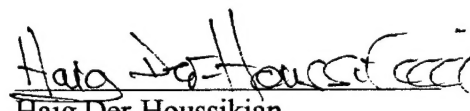
I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

R. Hunt Davis, Jr., Chairman
Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Timothy J. Cleaveland
Assistant Professor of History

I certify that I have read this study and that in my opinion it conforms to acceptable standards of scholarly presentation and is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

Haig Der-Houssikian
Professor of Linguistics

This thesis was submitted to the Graduate Faculty of the Department of History in the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and to the Graduate School and was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts.

December 1996

_____
Dean, Graduate School